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ANGEL AND TITAN: AN ESSAY IN VEDIC ONTOLOGY

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MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Ekaṁ vā idaṁ vi babhūva sarvam, RV. VIII. 58. 2.
Bhrātaraṁ varuṇam agna ā vavṛtsva, RV. IV. 1. 2.
Sarpyā vā ādityāḥ, PB. XXV. 15. 4.[1]

Introduction

THE LEADING idea to be developed in the present article is that the Devas and Asuras, Angels and Titans, powers of Light and powers of Darkness in RV., although distinct and opposite in operation, are in essence consubstantial, their distinction being a matter

[1] "This One becomes the All;" "Turn hitherwards, O Agni, they brother Varuṇa" (that is, "Reveal thyself," since Agni is "Varuṇa's face," RV. VII. 88. 2, Sūrya the "face" of the Angels, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni," I. 115. 1); "The Serpents are the Suns."

Abbreviations: RV., *Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā* (also to be understood where no indication is given; references to the eighth book follow the consecutive numbering, without separation of the Vālakhilya); TS., *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā*; VS., *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*; MS., *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*; TB., *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; AB., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; PB., *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*; KB., *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*; ŚB., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; JB., *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; JUB., *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; GB., *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; AA., *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; BṛD., *Bṛhad Devatā*; N., Yāska, *Nirukta*; BU., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; ChU., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; TP., *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*; Āp. Śr. S., *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*; Mbh., *Mahābhārata*; BG., *Bhagavad Gītā*; R., *Rāmāyaṇa*; BP., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; YS., *Yoga Sūtra*; D., *Digha Nikāya*; SP., *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*; SBE., Sacred Books of the East; HOS., Harvard Oriental Series; JAOS., Journal of the American Oriental Society; WZKM., Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlāndes; VM., Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*.

Some of the problems discussed have been previously raised by Professor W. Norman Brown, "The Sources and Nature of *puruṣa* in the Puruṣasūkta (Rig Veda 10. 90)," JAOS. 51. 108-118, and "Proselyting the Asuras," JAOS. 39. 100-103. The present treatise is independent of Siecke, *Drachenkämpfe*, Leipzig, 1907, and Scharbau, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1933.

The following are invariable renderings: *deva*, "Angel;" *asura*, "Titan;" *ahi*, "Serpent" (*sarpa* also, "Serpent" or "serpent"); *vṛtra*, "Dragon;" *māyā*, "Magic;" *māyin*, "Magician."

not of essence but of orientation, revolution, or transformation, as indicated by such express statements as "The Serpents are the Suns" in PB., and the constant employment of *vṛt*, to "turn," "-vert," "-volve," etc. in RV. and Brāhmaṇas, in connection with the relations of Angels and Titans, passim. In this case, the Titan is potentially an Angel, the Angel still by nature a Titan; the Darkness in actu is Light, the Light in potentia Darkness; whence the designations Asura and Deva may be applied to one and the same "Person" according to the mode of operation, as in the case of Varuṇa, or alternatively, there may be a distinction of names in the same sense, as in RV. I. 163. 3, "Trita art thou (Agni) by interior operation" (*guhyena vratena*). At the same time it is proposed to show that whereas the Angels are typically "men" or "birds," the Titans are typically theriomorphic and in particular ophidian (*sarpya*). These theses are of primary importance in the exegesis of iconography and that of "serpent-worship." The proposition as outlined above is summarized in the citations prefixed by way of "argument." In the present essay account is taken only of the masculine powers; in connection with the corresponding feminine powers, the matter of *sarpatva* has been discussed in "The Darker Side of Dawn," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, vol. 94, no. 1; the two papers should be read together.

1. *Indra and Namuci*

The story of Indra and the Titan Namuci, "Holdfast," has been admirably discussed by Bloomfield.[2] Here we shall only refer

[2] "The Story of Indra and Namuci," JAOS. 15. 143 ff. I do not agree with Bloomfield that the "foam of the waters" used by Indra as his weapon necessarily means "lead." In ŚB. XII. 7. 3. 3 Indra's *vajra* is actually made of the foam of the waters. Or we might understand that Indra cut off Namuci's head with the foam "by way of *vajra*," following Mahīdhara on VS. X. 33, and on the analogy of PB. XV. 5. 20, "with a reed by way of *vajra*" and JB. III. 266, "blade of grass into which Indra infused his *vajra*." In X. 61. 8 *phena* = *retas*. If then we correlate I. 103. 7 *vajreṇa* with II. 11. 2 *vīryeṇa*, and recall that *vīrya* is not merely "bravery" but also "seed" (as rendered by Bühler in translation of Manu. I. 8), it is apparent in what sense, viz. by the "seminal virtue" as *vajra*, that Indra decapitated Namuci (and thus generated life); and this is confirmed by PB. XV. 5. 20 *iṣīkāṁ vajram*, if we equate *iṣīkā* with *vetasa*, as employed significantly in X. 95. 4 *śnathita vaitasena*, cf. ŚB. IX. 1. 2. 22 where the bamboo (*vetasa*) is a kind of "water" symbolically

to what is pertinent for present purposes. Indra and Namuci, Titan and Magician, whose identity with Vṛtra is evident, had been boon companions, that is drinkers of soma together, ante principium. A compact is made that Indra shall not slay Namuci "with anything dry nor with anything wet, neither by day or night," that is, ostensibly, not under any circumstances whatever. There is indeed a marked reluctance on the part of either to slay the other; thus, in MS. IV. 3. 4 Namuci says "Let us twain be friends," Indra replying "I will not slay." This reluctance on the part of the Angels to injure the Titans, who are in fact their kinsmen, recurs throughout the traditional literature; cf. Mitra's similar reluctance to slay Soma, ŚB. IV. I. 4. 8, Arjuna's reluctance in BG. I. 26 f. ("I will not fight"; Arjuna's opponents, "ancestors, relatives, and friends," are in fact the Vedic Titans), and Indra's again in Jātaka, text I. pp. 202-203 (where "not for the sake of empire" parallels BG. I. 35 "not for the kingship of the three worlds," the dominion in question being in both cases that which is in fact reversed in RV. X. 124. 4, *pary āvard rāṣṭram*, and that which is ultimately won by the Pāṇḍavas in Mbh.).

Indra nevertheless finds means to slay Namuci, evading the conditions by a subterfuge. Namuci's severed head "rolls after" (*anvavarta*) Indra, bitterly reproaching him as the "betrayer of a friend" and "treacherous hero-slayer of the innocent" (TB. I. 7. 1. 7-8 and PB. XII. 6, cf. Mbh. IX. 2436). Indra atones by means of a sacrifice (no doubt a Pravargya ceremony, where the "head of the sacrifice" is symbolically restored) and an expiatory bath in the river Aruṇā.

In the RV. accounts Indra, "seeking a broadway for Manu, wrung off (*avartayaḥ*) the head of Namuci . . . churned (*mathāyat*) Namuci's head, to wit the bright revolving gem" (*aśmānaṁ cit svaryaṁ vartamānam*, V. 30. 7-8); which "gem" is the Sun, cf. V. 47. 3 where Agni is *pṛśnir aśmā*, "variegated gem," and VII. 104. 19 *pra vartaya divo aśmānam*, "set Heaven's gem a-rolling," addressed to Indra as demon-slayer.

Notice should be taken here of the equivalence of *vṛt*, and *math* = "twirl"; the latter root is used in RV. passim with reference

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used to "quench" (*śamayati*) the fierce interior aspect of Agni, i. e. to "set aside his scorching evil" (*śucam asya pāpmānam apahanti, ib.* 20), which is just what Indra does to Namuci.

(1) to the generation of Agni by Mātariṣvān (= Vāyu, Spiritus)[3] in the beginning, or by sacrificers in the analogous rite, and (2) to the rape of Soma by the Hawk (*śyena* = Agni, as demonstrated by Bloomfield, JAOS. 16. 11 ff.). The nature of the movement implied in both cases is the same, viz. a turning round, hence our rendering "twirl," the significance "churning" being involved only in so far as the process is applied to a liquid, as in *samudra-mathana*. The most important passages for the production of Agni by "twirling" include I. 141. 3, where Mātariṣvān "twirls him from his ground (*budhnāt*), from the Buffalo's image (*varpasaḥ*), when he lay hidden" (*guhā santam* = ab intra),[4] who is thus "brought to us from the Supernal Father" (*pituḥ paramāt*); III. 9. 5, where Mātariṣvān brings "Agni hither from afar, who had been hidden (*tirohitam*) from us, brings from the Angels him that had been twirled" (*mathitam*); and VI. 16. 13 where Atharvan "twirled (*nir amanthat*) thee, Agni, from the lotus (*puṣkarāt* = *budhnāt*, above),[5] from the head of *Viśva(-rūpa)*, the

[3] The "Windnatur" of Mātariśvān (= Mātali) is discussed by Charpentier, *Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie*, Uppsala, 1911, pp. 68-83; Charpentier concludes (in general agreement with the view of the Indian commentators) "Alles in allen kann ich nicht umhin die Windnatur des Mātariśvān-Mātali für sekundar in Bezug auf seine Natur als Prometheus und einer der 'Vater' zu halten." Mātariśvān is Vāta-Vāyu, the Gale, the Dawnwind (I. 122. 3 *vasarhā . . . vātaḥ*) who awakens Agni (*prs bodhaya purandhim*, see Bloomfield in JAOS. 16. 18 f.), he fans the flame of Life (VI. 6. 3, where Agni is *vātajūtāsaḥ*). Cf. the "Spirit," the "Wind," and the "East Wind" in Genesis I. 2 and VIII. 1, and Exodus XIV. 2. Reference to the dawn wind can be traced in almost all nativities, cf. the mediaeval German "Do in der Stâl kimt überall der kalte Wind herein."

[4] *Varpas* = *rūpa* (Sāyaṇa); the manifested Agni is "The Father's own image abiding in himself (cf. PB. VII. 6. 2) . . . his image, that is to say, his Son" (Eckhart), cf. AV. X. 8. 28 (= JUB. III. 11), "Is he their eldest or their youngest? Is he their Son or their Father? Truly it is one Angel that has entered into intellect, erst was he born, and yet is even now in embryo," i. e. as in RV. III. 55. 7, "albeit he proceedeth foremost, still he stays within his ground."

[5] It hardly needs to be demonstrated here (cf. my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, pp. 19-21) that Sāyaṇa correctly explains the lotus, *puṣkara*, as a designation of the ground of existence in any world. It may be added, however, in connection with the kenning *abja*, "born of water," equivalent to "lotus," *puṣkara*, that in VII. 34. 16 this epithet is applied to the Serpent, "I celebrate with litanies the Serpent water-born (*abjām . . . ahim*, cf. *apāṁ napāt* = Agni), seated in the rivers' ground, the

priest" (*mūrdhno visvaśya vāghataḥ*). Those for the production of Soma by twirling are I. 93. 6 where "the Hawk twirls (or 'grinds,' *amathnāt*) Soma from the Rock" (*pari śyeno adreḥ*), and IX. 77. 2, Soma "whom the Hawk from Heaven wrung" (*yaṁ divas pari śyeno mathāyat*, cf. in V. 30. 8 cited above, *śiro dāsasya namucer mathāyat*). The latter passages are especially intelligible in the light of the repeated "Vṛtra was Soma" in ŚB.

2. *Makha*

The references to a Titan Makha driven away by the Bhṛgus in RV. IX. 101. 13, or whose head is cut off by Indra in X. 171. 2, presupposes the Brāhmaṇa versions in which Makha's head becomes the Sun. In X. 171. 2 Indra "lifts from his hide raging Makha's head" (*makhasya dodhataḥ śiro 'va tvaco bharaḥ*), anticipating the prayer in the fourth verse, to bring back from the West into the East "the Sun, Vaśa that had been hidden from the Angels"

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rivers' beds" (*budhne nadīnāṁ rajaḥsu ṣidan*—a little difficult, but evidently tantamount to *nadī-vṛtam* applied to Vṛtra elsewhere), who in the next verse is referred to more specifically as Ahi Budhnya. The consequent exegesis is very elegant; for we may say that just as Ahi is *abja*, not indeed as being a lotus, but like the lotus in this respect as well as in that he is Agni's source, so Agni born from the lotus is *abjaja*. In full agreement with this is a passage in which Agni is described as found "where he has crept up out of the waters onto the lotus-leaf" (*adbhya upodāsṛptam puṣkaraparṇe*, ŚB. VII. 3. 2. 14); with which may be compared also the account of the procession of Arbuda Kādraveya (son of Kadru, i. e. of the Serpent Queen, and probably the same as Ahi, at least an *ahi*), "The Serpent Prophet had made an incantation, thereby he crept forth, and that, indeed, is called 'Arbuda's creeping forth'" (*sarparṣi mantrakṛt yenopodāsarpat . . . arbudodāsarpaṇi nāma*, AB. VI. 1, where also Arbuda is called a venomous serpent or basilisk, *āśīviṣaḥ*, the Skt. equivalent of Avestan *azhi-visha* in Azhi-vishapa; from PB. IX. 8. 7-8, cf. IV. 9. 4-6, it appears that the *mantra* alluded to is RV. X. 189, for here it is "by the *sarparājñyā* verse that Arbuda puts off his corrupted skin," *mṛtāṁ tvacam apāhata*).

For the lotus (= earth) as Agni's birthplace cf. also VIII. 72. 11, where soma is "poured in the lotus" (*niṣiktaṁ puṣkare*), and ŚB. VIII. 6. 3. 7, *yonir vai puṣkara-parṇam*. RV. VII. 33. 11, where Vasiṣṭha (Agni) *brahman . . . jātaḥ . . . puṣkare*, corresponds to GB. I. 16 *brahma ha vai brahmāṇaṁ puṣkare asṛje*. That Agni is said to creep up out of the waters onto the lotus corresponds to the Gnostic symbol of nymph and imago.

(*sūryam . . . devānāṁ cit tiro vaśam*): "raging Makha's head" corresponding to "raging Vṛtra's head" severed by Indra with his hundred-jointed bolt in VIII. 6. 6 (*vi cid vṛtrasya dodhato vajreṇa śiro bibheda*); "Vaśa" to that "equine Vaśa" who is aided by the Aśvins in I. 112. 10, etc., and in VIII. 46. 33 is evidently the Sun; and the "hide" to the "black skin that Indra hates" (*indra-dviṣṭām . . . tvacam asiknīm*, IX. 73. 5), the "Serpent's inveterated skin" of IX. 86. 44 where Soma "even as Ahi, creeps forward from the ancient skin" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati*), in harmony with PB. XXV. 15. 4 where the serpents "abandoning their inveterated skin (*hitvā jīrṇāṁ tvacam*) creep forward (*atisarpanti*), put away Death, and become Ādityas." Somewhat to anticipate, we may remark that the bisection of the Serpent may be equated with the diremption of Heaven and Earth.

Turning now to the Brāhmaṇa versions, in PB. VII. 5. 6 Agni, Indra, Vāyu, and Makha, all desirous of glory (*yaśas*) take part in a sacrificial session. Makha obtains the glory, but as he leans on his bow, the end springs up, cutting off his head, and "this became the *pravargya*, for Makha is indeed the sacrifice." This *pravargya* (or *pravarga*) is also called in ritual the *mahāvīra*, or *gharma*, and "the head of the sacrifice." In TA. V. 1. 1-5, Makha is called Vaiṣṇava (Saumya in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17), the bow "spins up" (*udavartat*) the head, which circles about Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī anuprāvartata*, cf. RV. V. 30. 8, *vartamānaṁ rodasī*); and "that he turned forth" (*prāvartata*, i. e. 'proceeded,' cf. *pravṛtti*) is the origin of the term *pravargya*, that he was glowing that of the term *gharma*, that he had great heroism that of the term *mahāvīra*." TB. II. 6. 13. 1, *sa bibheda valam magham*, cf. RV. III. 34. 10 *bibheda valam*, suggests the identity of the personified "Cavern," Vala (cf. *vara, varaṇa, varuṇa, vṛtra, varāha*) with Makha, but that the reading is *magham* and not *makham*, cf. IX. 20. 7 *krīḷur makho na maṁhayuḥ pavitraṁ soma gacchasi*, "even as Makha, Soma," etc., emphasizes the indivisibility of reckless bravery, wealth, and generosity in the ideal hero. The account is fuller in ŚB. XIV. 1. 1; the Angels present are Indra, Agni, Soma, Makha, and Viṣṇu (perhaps we ought to read Soma-Makha or Makha-Viṣṇu); it is Viṣṇu's head that is severed by the bow, the string of which is gnawed by ants, and this head becomes "yonder Sun"; the rest of him lies outspread (*pravṛj*, whence ŚB. derives

pravargya, better than as in TA. cited above).[6] Indra rushes up to the fallen "hero" (*mahāvīra*) engulfs him (*taṁ paryagṛhṇāt*, in other words, swallows him up, or rather drinks him, who is really Soma), and thus "became *makhavat*, for Makhavat is he who is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) Maghavat"; moreover, "Makha is the same as Viṣṇu . . . the Sacrifice."[7] It is evident that an

[6] In RV. V. 30. 15 the *gharma* is said to be heated *pravṛje*, "for the Pravargya." Closely related to *pravṛj* is Vedic *parā vṛj*, to "re-ject," "cast away," so often employed in connection with Agni RV. II. 13. 12; II. 15. 7; IV. 30. 16; and probably in the same connection in I. 112. 8). In I. 116. 24, Soma too is "like Rebha, *pravṛktam*"; while in X. 8. 9 *parā vṛj* in the form *parā vark* is used in connection with the decapitation of Viśvarūpa; whence it may be inferred that *parāvṛj*, *parāvṛkta*, applied to Agni and Soma are said with reference to the deposition of the body after decapitation. These terms occur in association with the expression "making the blind to see, the lame to walk," and if as we suppose this means "effecting the Sun's procession," who had been as it were a "blindworm," the connection of ideas is evident; for the Sun being Varuṇa's "eye," passim, Varuṇa can only be thought of as blind while yet the Sun is *tamasā apagūḷham*, *guhā nihitam*, etc., i. e. before the section of the Serpent's head, and as "crawling," which is expressed by saying that the Sun was originally "footless" (*apad*, often tantamount to "serpent," cf. ŚB. I. 6. 3. 9, "in that he, Soma, was footless, he was Ahi) and is footless until Varuṇa "makes feet for him, that he may proceed" (I. 24. 8); for the corresponding distinction of the "footless" and the "footed" aspects of the feminine principles, see *The Darker Side of Dawn*. For a fuller discussion cf. *vṛj* or *varj* on RV. see Bloomfield in JAOS. 35. 273 ff.; the primary sense is that of "do," and hence "do for," as in the expression "done for" = "ruined." *Parā vṛj* corresponds also to *parāsa* in IV. 18. 8 and *parāsyat* in X. 72. 8.

With reference to the designations of Agni as *pṛśnir aśmā* and of the Sun as *vartamānam aśmānam* previously cited (whence the use in ritual of a "variegated stone," *aśmānaṁ pṛśnim*, representing "yonder Sun," ŚB. IX. 2. 3. 14), it may be observed that these formulations, taken in connection with the ophidian character of the deity ab intra, explain the origin of what is now (inasmuch as the significance has been forgotten) strictly speaking a superstition, the notion viz. that there is a jewel in a serpent's head.

[7] By devouring, or as we must phrase it in the present connection, drinking Makha-Soma, Indra appropriates the fallen hero's desirable qualities by an incorporation that is at the same time sacrificial and Eucharistic, cf. John VI. 56, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." This was, of course, the basic principle of cannibalism, and it is notable that it should have survived in both the Vedic and the Christian rituals of Communion.

expiation is required (the slaying of Vṛtra, parallel to that of Viśvarūpa, is indeed one of Indra's *kilbiṣāṇi*, AB. VII. 28; for which sins of Indra's see Bloomfield in JAOS. 19 (2). 118 f.). But only Dadhyañc Atharvan knows how the head of the sacrifice is to be put on again, and Indra, perfectly satisfied with what has been done, forbids him to reveal it.[8] The Aśvins nevertheless, as also

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The Brāhmaṇa accounts are clearly prefigured in the briefer Vedic references. That Makha is the sacrifice and cause of its efficacy is particularly clear in IX. 20. 7, "Thou, Soma, goest playfully (*krīḷuḥ*) unto the filter, even as Makha prodigal of gifts (*makho na maṅhayuḥ*), lending the laud its heroic-virtue (*suvīryam*)," where also it should be noted that *krīḷuḥ* (cf. the use of *krīḷ* elsewhere in RV.) implies the same as *līlāvatāraṇa*, or in other words, a willing sacrifice. In IX. 17. 6 Soma is the "head of the sacrifice" (*mūrdhan yajñasya*). In IX. 5-6 Soma is assimilated both to Indra and to Prajāpati explicitly, and by the expressions employed, to Agni as in I. 13. In I. 134. 1, VIII. 7. 27, and VIII. 46. 25 Vāyu alone or the Devas collectively are invited to "partake of Makha (*makhasya dāvane*, better perhaps, "to partake of the sacrifice"), and "to be lavish" (*dāvane*) in turn; and that all actually partake of Makha's virtue in this way may be inferred from the use of *makha*, "brave" (in battle, cf. gigant*omachy*) as an epithet not only of Indra himself (III. 34. 2) but also of Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Agni, Aśvins, and Maruts.

A pale reflection of the foregoing doctrine survives incidentally in Pali Buddhism, where it is explained that Indra is called Maghavā because as a man he had once been a brahman of that name" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2, p. 297, citing S. I. 230 and J. IV. 403 = V. 137). *Makkha*, in Pali, is "wrath," "mercilessness," etc.

[8] Dadhyañc himself is made to suffer decapitation, after which his head is replaced with that of a horse; a parallel to the decapitation not only of that by which the procession of Agni-Sūrya is effected, where there is a symbolic replacement in the ritual, but also to that of Gaṇeśa who in Śaiva mythology is related to Skanda Kumāra as is Agni to Indra in RV. (the relation of *brahma* to *kṣatra*), and losing his head, is given that of an elephant.

The "mystery," the "honey" i. e. "soma" (cf. X. 68. 8 *aśnāpinaddham madhu*) doctrine is that of the true meaning of the sacrificial ritual, its significance as an act of expiation and reintegration, an undoing of the work of disintegration with which the world begins; which mystery, although outwardly enacted in the ritual, is even now by no means to be revealed to any but a qualified student (ŚB. *loc. cit.*).

The nature of the "sweet doctrine" is nevertheless sufficiently indicated in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 18, and more clearly than in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4; three Mahāvīra pots have been made, one addressed with the formula "Makha's head art thou," and the other silently, and it is explained, "By whatever one does (*karoti*) with Yajus formula, by that one constitutes (*saṁskaroti*,

in RV. I. 116. 12, get the secret from him, and they instruct the Angels accordingly how by the proper use of the Mahāvīra vessel, "the head of the sacrifice is put on again, the sacrifice is made whole"; the Aśvins themselves are then admitted to a share in the sacrifice.[9] ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 gives formulæ for making the vessel, which has parts corresponding to those of a head, and when completed it is addressed with the words "Makha's head art thou," taken from VS. XXXVII. 8, ŚB. adding "for it is indeed the head of Makha Saumya," i. e. of that Makha who is or was really Soma, cf. "Now Vṛtra was Soma," cited below. In PB. VI. 5 the Sun is emanated (*asṛjyata*) from the head of Prajāpati, "he[10] smote off his head" (*udahan* instead of the usual *udvavarta*), and "that became the *droṇa-kalaśa*," corresponding to ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 cited below. The identity of Makha-Saumya with Prajāpati is very

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'integrates') that aspect (*rūpam*) of Prajāpati that is explicit and finite (*niruktaś ca parimitaś ca*), and by whatever one does silently (*tuṣṇīm*) thereby one constitutes that aspect of him that is implicit and infinite," so that by doing in both ways one constitutes Prajāpati in his entirety (*sarvaṁ kṛtsnam*), and thus reintegrates himself. This explanation applies moreover to the practice of "silent recitation" elsewhere, e. g. *manasā stuvate* in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4, cf. ŚB. II. 1. 4. 29; cf. also the *orationes secretae* in the Christian sacrifice (the Mass). The principle of subtle (*sūkṣma*) as distinguished from gross (*sthūla*) worship in later practice is analogous.

As to the ritual itself, it should never be forgotten that "the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the creation" (ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 26 and 3. 1. 36, etc.); and inasmuch as the "creation" is strictly speaking eternal (see my "Eternal Creation in the Ṛg Veda" to appear in the Ramakrishna Memorial Number of the *Vedanta Kesari* in 1936), it may be said of the sacrifice as envisaged in the Brāhmaṇas, what has been affirmed of the Christian sacrifice, the Mass, that "it is not confined to, nor limited by, the conditions of time and space" (Bede Frost, *The Meaning of Mass*, Oxford, 1934, p. 63), and as to its efficacy, what is affirmed of the Hebrew sacrifice, that "the impulse of the sacrifice is the mainstay of the worlds" and that it is by the impulse of the smoke from below that "the lamp (i. e. the Sun) is kindled above" (Zohar, Vayeḥi section, II. 374 in the Sperling and Simon version). Here as elsewhere there is nothing whatever unique in the Vedic point of view.

[9] In which they originally had no part, as we know also in connection with the story of Cyavāna (PB. XIV. 6. 10; ŚB. IV. 1. 5; JB. III. 120 f., etc.), whom we identify with Prajāpati.

[10] "He;" "Indra" must be supplied. In ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 (Kāṇva), *devāḥ . . . vyagṛhṇata*, (Mādhyaṁdina) *udvavarta*.

evident also in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2, where both alike are the sacrifice; even apart from which the equivalence would be obvious, inasmuch as in both cases it is always a primary purpose of the ritual to reintegrate the creator, when he is disintegrated by the expression of creatures, has fallen down, and cannot rise (for Prajāpati, see ŚB. I. 6. 3. 35-37, PB. IV. 10. 1, VI. 5. 1, etc.).

3. The Sacrifice of King Soma

In ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 we find "Now Vṛtra was Soma.[11] When the Angels smote him, his head whirled up (*udvavarta*) and became the *droṇa-kalaśa*," i. e. the soma-vessel, cf. PB. VI. 5. 7 "the vessel of the Angels." That the head becomes a vessel explains the designation of certain vessels as *kapāla*, "skull-cup," in this and other ritual usage. "Vessel of the Angels" would appear to be the Sun, rather than the Moon, which would be the vessel of the Asuras.

The preparation of soma represented an actual sacrifice of King Soma, as is explicit in ŚB. IV. 3. 4. 1, cf. IV. 4. 5, 21-22, where the pressing of the stalks is called the slaying of Soma, and the dry stalks are symbolically rejuvenated by immersion in water, as tantamount to tincture (*rasa*), as an act of expiation; actual sacrifice is similarly indicated in the use of root *śam* in RV. V. 43. 4, *bāhū . . . somasya ye śamitārā*, "these arms that give Soma his quietus."

Recalling the equivalence of *vṛt* and *math* it can be clearly seen how the grinding of the soma-stalks reflects the passion of Makha-Saumya or Vṛtra. That the obtaining of soma has also to be represented as a rape accomplished by the Hawk (Agni) on behalf of Indra, or as a theft on Indra's own part (another of his *kilbiṣāṇi*) depends of course, on the well known fact that whether as King or Tree, Soma was originally in possession of the Titans, and by them well guarded, cf. X. 97, where Soma is the king of the herbs, that were in being long prior to the being of the Angels themselves.[12]

[11] "Vṛtra was Soma" seems to render the text most literally, and better agrees with the sequence of events than does Eggeling's "Soma was Vṛtra."

[12] It is notorious that the Titans were the first possessors of Soma, mighty soma-drinkers before the nativity of any Angel; there "the Gandharva protects his (Soma's) seat," IX. 83. 4 etc., thence that the Hawk (Agni) brings it for Indra, or that Indra steals it for himself, RV. passim. Soma as a tree is the king of plants, the Tree of Life as

In connection with the idea of sacrifice it may be noted also that the designations *soma* and *puruṣa* are definitely assimilated in X. 51. 8, where "the Person of the herbs" whom Agni obtains when he accepts the priesthood can hardly be other than King Soma.

It is "as Ahi that he (Soma) creeps forth from his inveterated skin, and as a lusty glaucous courser that he runs and plays" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati tvacam atyo na krīḷann asarad vṛṣā hariḥ*, IX. 86. 44), tallying with "Vṛtra was Soma" cited above, cf. the designation of Soma as "Boar" (*varāha*, IX. 97. 7).

4. Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra

Viśvarūpa, "Omniform," occurs both as the name of a Titan, and as an epithet with application to his father Tvaṣṭṛ, the creator per artem. In RV. II. 11. 19, X. 8. 7-9, and X. 99. 6 (combining these accounts) we find that Trita Āptya (i. e. Agni, ab intra, eager to proceed) in alliance with Indra slaughters the three-headed,[13] six-eyed, seven-rayed Viśvarūpa, wrenching away (*parā*

distinguished from the Tree of Death, cf. Genesis III. 22 "lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." As a liquid, obtained when the "tree" is sacrificed, the soma is the sap (*rasa*), the blood of the tree, the Water of Life. On the other hand, the soma drunk in earthly rituals is never that very wine of life whereby the intoxicated Indra is enabled to overcome the Titans and to bring about the whole emanation, but only *rasa*, *amṛta*, analogically. Expressions such as *parvatāvṛdh*, IX. 46. 1 or *nābhā pṛthivyā giriṣu*, IX. 82. 3 (cf. V. 43. 4, IX. 72. 7, and Yaśna XLII. 5) are by no means in the beginning designations of a local habitat, the site of which may have been lost in later times; the soma is "lost" in quite another sense, "they fancy when the plant is pressed that they drink of the very soma, but of him the Brahmans understand as Soma, no one ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth," X. 85. 3-4. "What the Brahmans understand by 'Soma'" is not, of course, a physical entity. In this connection the explicit enunciation of a doctrine of transubstantiation in AB. VII. 31 is significant: "it is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) that he obtains the drinking of soma, it is not literally (*pratyakṣam*) partaken of by him. The Nyagrodha is metaphysically King Soma; metaphysically the Kṣatriya obtains the semblance of the spiritual power (*brahmaṇo rūpam*), by means of the priest, the consecration, and the invocation, as it were." Soma, *amṛta*, is *divi . . . gūḷham*, RV. VI. 44. 23-24. Cf. ŚB. III. 6. 2. 10-11, where the only approach to Soma is by way of *dīkṣā* and *tapas*.

[13] The three heads of Viśvarūpa, like those of the Sun, may correspond to the three worlds, cf. JUB. III, 11-12, where it is "by three turns"

vark) or carrying off (*ava . . . bharat*) his heads and lifting his cattle. In II. 11. 19 Indra hands over Viśvarūpa to "Trita of our party," and it is to be inferred that a decapitation takes place, for in the next verse the Sun is set a-going (*avartayat sūryo na cakram*).[14] In X. 99. 6 the epithets are unmistakable, but the *dāsa* is called the Boar (*varāha*), and not otherwise named.

(*āvṛdbhir*) of the Gāyatra (Sāman) that the Puruṣa conquers Heaven, Midhome, and This World, and all that is in them; the Gāyatra itself being *tryāvṛt*. The use of *āvṛt* here, answers to the use of root *vṛt* throughout, as well as to the special sense of *āvṛtta*, tantamount to *pravṛtta*, and meaning a coming into the worlds.

[14] Indra's connection with the Sun has been sometimes misunderstood; his position is strictly speaking that of Lucifer before the Fall. Indra is never at war with his fellow-Angels. It is for them that he is besought to "pull the Sun's wheel towards us" (*pra sūraś cakraṁ vṛhatād abhīke*, IV. 16. 12), it is from the Titans and for Kutsa as he struggled that Indra "steals the solar wheel" (*cakram muṣāya . . . sūryam*, IV. 30. 4); just as he "fixes" (*ni khidat*) the wheel and "steals away" (*apa dhayi*) Life Universal (*viśvāyu*, i. e. Agni) from the Great Fiend (*maho druhaḥ*, IV. 28. 2), and entirely parallel to this is his abduction of the Word (*vācam muṣayati*, I. 130. 9), whose restoration is demanded and effected in X. 109. In X. 23. 5 where Indra "wins" (*jayat*) the Sun as if at a game of chance, it is from the Titans that he wins, not that "he vanquishes the Sun" as pretended in VM. p. 31.

Indra's great rebellion against the Father, by which the kingdom is overturned, takes place in the beginning. Nevertheless in RV. for the most part Indra observes the legitimate relations of *kṣatra* to *brahma*, he acts as Fidei Defensor (*vratapā*), his courage and loyalty to his companions are far from ignoble; the dual Indrāgnī even preserves the primordial coincidence of kingship and priesthood in one and the same person. But in the later literature (BṛD. VII. 54-58) and especially in Buddhism, the possibilities inherent in the principle of temporal power are more fully developed; Indra becomes Mammon.

It must be realised, of course, that Indra, Lucifer and Satan, must not be confused with the "evil" power of Darkness, Death (*mṛtyu*, *māra*), the Godhead, the "unkindly Father" himself. The width of the entire universe divides the one from the other, divides the "outer darkness" from the Darkness ab intra, "impervious to all illumination and hidden from all knowledge" (Dionysius, *Ep. ad Caium Monach.*, cited St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III. 92. 1), but of which St. Thomas says that it is called "Darkness" "on account of its surpassing brightness," i. e. as being a *blinding* light. Indra, although like every other Angel of Titan birth, remains an Angel even in his pride, being like Satan "fallen not in nature, but in grace"; whereas the Dragon-Father never was nor ever can be natured, it is he that by his nature natures all things.

In the longer versions of TS. II. 4. 12 and 5. 1 ff. (cf. KB. XV. 2-3) Viśvarūpa is Tvaṣṭṛ's son by "a sister of the Titans," Viśvarūpa has already been slain, and Tvaṣṭṛ prepares a soma sacrifice, from which Indra is excluded. But Indra seizes the soma by force, as in so many other texts he is said to have done.[15] Tvaṣṭṛ whirls (*avartayat*) the remainder of the soma upon the sacrificial fire, saying "Hail, wax great, as Indra's foe." It springs to life and is called Vṛtra, either because Tvaṣṭṛ "averted" it into the fire, or (more correctly) because it "envelopes" these worlds.[16] This Vṛtra takes demoniac possession of Agni and Soma, who thus fall into the *asurya* power. Indra, and even Tvaṣṭṛ (as also in RV. I. 80. 14) are alarmed. Tvaṣṭṛ provides Indra with his bolt (as usual, e. g. RV. I. 85. 9, but in VI. 44. 22 Indu—i. e. Indra, as in II. 22—"steals his unkindly father's weapons and his magic") and Indra raises it to slay Vṛtra, but Agni and Soma cry out that they are "in him." Indra makes Vṛtra gape, and Agni and Soma escape from his mouth.[17] Heaven and Earth are extracted by the promise of lights to the former, species (*rūpāṇi*) to

[15] Another of Indra's many *kilbiṣāṇi*. In RV. III. 48. 4 "When at birth he had overcome (his father) Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra by main force stole (*āmuṣya*) the soma and drank it"; in VI. 44. 22 Indu (Indra, here as in II. 22) "steals the weapons (*ayudhāni*) and magic-arts (*māyāḥ*) of his unkindly father" (*pitur aśivasya*—mark the contrast in X. 124. 2-4, where Agni, although he chooses Indra and deserts the Father, calls himself unkind, the Father kind); in IV. 17. 12 "What recks Indra of his Mother, what of the Father Progenitor that begat him? (He recks only) of that which immediately whets his fury" (viz. the soma-draught). Indra's violent disruption of the preëxisting harmony, and brutal treatment of his parents, as in IV. 18, although really in accordance with the Supernal Father's providence (*dhītiṁ pitur . . . parasya*, X. 8. 7), becomes an occasion of reproach; for these and the other offences, although he acts by infallible necessity and "does what must be done," Indra is sometimes excluded from the sacrifice, e. g. in AB. VII. 28, where his tort against Bṛhaspati as well as Viśvarūpa is cited, and "because he stole the soma of Tvaṣṭṛ, even today the temporal power (*kṣatra*) is deprived of soma drinking." Agni, on the other hand, is the Redeemer (*kilbiṣaspṛt*, X. 71. 10).

[16] The derivation of Vṛtra, like that of Varuṇa, from *vṛ*, to "cover," "enclose," "hide away," would seem preferable to a derivation from *vṛt*.

[17] In X. 90. 13-14 it is Agni and Indra that proceed from the mouth of Puruṣa; the Puruṣa's head is "con-verted" (*sam avartata*) into Dyauḥ, here evidently the Sun.

the latter.[18] Very significant is the remark addressed by Indra to Viṣṇu, "Come, let us grasp that by which he (Vṛtra) is these worlds" (*vo yena ayam idam*), cf. RV. X. 88. 9 where "in him (Agni) the Angels offered up the whole universe" (*yasmin ājuhavur bhuvanāni viśvā*). In ŚB. I. 6. 3 the course of events is similar; when the soma is cast into the fire "inasmuch as it was whirling (*vartamānaḥ*) it became the Dragon, inasmuch as it was footless (*apad*) it became the Serpent." All things, Angels, sciences, glory, food, and beauty come out of Vṛtra, who lies drained of his contents like an empty bag, "contracted and emptied out."[19] Indra is about to slay him, but he says "Cast not, for thou art now what I (was erst); only dissever me."[20] Indra cuts him in two (*dvedhānvabhinat*), making the moon of that part of him in which the soma inhered, and of the other, titanic part, the belly in all creatures, whence men say that "Vṛtra is within us."[21]

In PB. VII. 5. 20 it is Uśanas Kāvya, "who was the priest of

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[18] Similarly in PB. XVIII. 9. 6, Heaven obtaining from Vṛtra her lights (*nakṣatrāṇi*) and Earth her diversified phenomena (*citrāṇi rūpāṇi*). *Rūpāṇi* in this connection we take to be "things in their kind," the "works of distinction and adornment"; cf. the *pururūpā vapūṁṣi* of Earth in RV. III. 55. 5, *viśvarūpāḥ paśuvaḥ* in VIII. 100. 11, *sarvāṇi rūpāṇi* in AB. V. 23 in connection with Earth as the Serpent Queen, and JB. I. 160, cf. TS. II. 4. 6, where the Earth is *citrā*. The partition of Vṛtra, of Puruṣa, of Prajāpati, is the act of creation involving the separation of Heaven and Earth; for the corresponding division of "lights" and "species," viz. of image-bearing and omniform light and of exemplified phenomena, see my "Vedic Doctrine of Exemplarism," to appear in the James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume.

[19] We have pointed out in *The Darker Side of Dawn* that *apad* becomes a kenning for "snake," and the significance of *apad* as contrasted with *ekapad*, *padavī*, etc.

[20] That Vṛtra is "emptied out" corresponds to the expression *aricyata* employed in connection with Prajāpati when he has poured out creatures, e. g. PB. IV. 10. 1 *prajā asṛjata so 'ricyata*; and to Eckhart's words, "the whole of what he knows, the whole of what he can afford," that is of course his finite and presentable aspect, his "face," for it is but a "fourth" of his being that "becomes" (*abhavat*, RV. X. 90. 3-4), "three fourths remain within" (*trīṇi padāni nihitā guhā*, AV. II. 1. 2).

[21] In most of the accounts it appears that the Dragon is wounded vitally and rendered impotent rather than slain; as holds also for Prajāpati, the Sacrifice, who "survives this passion" (*tāṁ vā āyuṣārtim atyajīvat*, PB. VI. 5).

the Titans" that is persuaded to come over to the side of the Angels, who are thus supported by the spiritual power,[22] and this explains the allusion "when Uśanas reached you," in RV. V. 31. 8.[23] In JB. I. 125, Bṛhaspati (also son of Tvaṣṭṛ, RV. II. 23. 17) is the priest of the Angels, Uśanas Kāvya of the Titans; the victory of the Angels is assured when the latter is won over. In the version of BP. VI. chs. 7-13, Vṛtra behaves with great nobility, but accuses Indra of Brahman-slaying, in that he killed his guru, Viśvarūpa, here Vṛtra's brother. It requires 360 days for Indra to cut off Vṛtra's head, that is evidently an aeonic "Year," during which Time is as it were gradually unrolled. This is in fact a repetition of the TS. account, in which Viśvarūpa is a Brahman, and Indra incurs the guilt of Brahman-slaying, which he bears for a "Year," i. e. until the end of an aeon, until the "Day of Judgment."

The version of Tvaṣṭṛ's sacrifice given in ŚB. II. 2. 4. 1-8 is of

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[22] Food is the sine qua non of ex-istence in any mode, the *anna-maya* being the support of all modality; hence in X. 90. 2 it is said of the Puruṣa as Lord of Life that he "rises up by food," food as in MU. VI. 11 being the premier manifestation of the Spirit, "by food the breath of life is mode-ified" (*-maya*).

That "Vṛtra is within us" not only answers to the concept of a digestive fire or combustion, but suggests an interesting parallel; for it is by the "stomach" that we are prompted to take "food" (as pointed out in ŚB. 1. 6. 3. 17), and if the stomach be identified with the Dragon or Serpent, then we may says that when the "bird" eats of the sweet fruit of the fig (*svādu pippalam atti*, I. 164. 20) that "the Serpent tempted him"—as in Genesis, "The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat"—and conversely it can be seen that fasting may be regarded, not as a moral exercise, but as a metaphysical rite, in imitation of that other "bird" that "does not eat of the tree" but merely regards it (*abhi cākaśīti, ib.*). The designation "food" has of course a very wide application, covering all objects of desire, by the acquisition of which the individual functions as such. The identification of Vṛtra with the belly—the likeness of the bowels to a snake is obvious—corresponds to the conception widespread in antiquity, of the "bowels" as the seat of the emotions, i. e. of the will, in distinction from the "heart," in which the operation of the intellect takes place.

[23] The "persuasion" here, which persuasion is often a bribing, corresponds to the "con-version" accomplished elsewhere by more violent means; in RV. I. 148. 1 for example, it is Agni whom Mātariśvān "grasps and grinds" (*mathīd yad īṁ viṣṭaḥ*) to be the "multiform priest of all the Angels (*hotāraṁ viśvāpsuṁ viśvadevyam*, where *viśvāpsum* = *vaiśvaraupyam*). Cf. Agni as "Titan priest" in VII. 30. 3, the Sun as "Titan Priest of the Angels" in VIII. 101. 12.

particular interest and throws a clarifying light upon its significance as a creative act. Here the name of Prajāpati replaces that of Tvaṣṭṛ; i. e. the concept of creation by generation replaces that of creation per artem. Prajāpati is single in the beginning, he desires to be propagated; he breathes forth Agni, the sacrificial fire, as indeed might be expected of him who is really the Dragon. The Earth (*pṛthivī* = *urvarā*, hairless similarly in RV. VIII. 91. 5-6) is "bald," without vegetation. The Fire is a devourer. Prajāpati is afraid: therefore his Allmight (*mahimā*), his Word (*vāc*), departs (*apacakrāma*); in other words, the diremption of the First Principle, the division of Essence and Nature, Heaven and Earth, that had been conjunct (*parikṣitā, samokasā*, etc. in RV.) now takes place (as in BU. I. 4. 3, cf. 17, *ātmānaṁ dvedhāpātayat*, JUB. I. 54, *te vyadravatām*, RV. X. 27. 23 *kṛntatrād eṣām*, etc.). Prajāpati "seeks to make an offering in himself" (*ātmann eva āhutim īṣe*); he "rubs up" (*udamṛṣṭa*, cf. RV. X. 167. 4, *stomam . . . un mṛje*, "I stirred up the hymn") and he rubbed his hands together so hard, that even now the palms are hairless. What he thus obtains (*viveda*, "found") is an offering of "milk" (*payas*), evidently the equivalent of soma in the TS. versions cited above. That "milk" he casts into the fire, and thence arise the plants. He rubs again, and obtains a second flow. He is in doubt whether or not to make an offering of this other milk (which corresponds to the "remnant of the *soma*" in the TS. versions). His own Allmight speaks out (*svo mahimābhyuvāda*), "Make thou the offering" (*juhudhi*). Again he casts the "milk" into the Fire; "and thereupon the Sun rose (*udiyāya*), the Gale sprang up (*pra babhūva*), the Fire was averted" (*agniḥ parāñ paryāvartata*, the Fire that is thus "turned back away" being of course the "devouring Fire" against whom so many apotropaic incantations are employed in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas). Thus Prajāpati "propagates himself, he bears himself across from the Fire, from Death" (*prajāpatiḥ . . . agnir mṛtyor ātmānam atrāyata*), note the parallel in RV. X. 53. 8 (*atra jahāma ye asann aśevāḥ śivānvayam uttarema*, where *atra* = *parāñ* in ŚB. cited above). Finally, this Resurrection of the Dying God (cf. PB. XXV. 17. 2-3, where Prajāpati when he is "stupified by eld," *jīryā mūraḥ*, by the performance the sacrifice once more comes into act as the quickening principle of all things, *sarvasya prasavam agacchat*) is for him who understands the promise of a like regeneration, "for when he dies,

and when they lay him in the fire, then is he born (again) of the fire (*agner adhijāyate*), the fire consumes his body only" (ŚB. loc. cit. 8) all of which is in full agreement with the assumptions of the Funeral Hymns in RV., nor could any doctrine be more explicit.

Certain conspicuous common traits are to be remarked in Viśvarūpa and Agni, Sūrya, and other aspects of the primary proceeding power. In RV. I. 146. 1 Agni ab intra (*pitror upasthe*) is like Viśvarūpa triple-headed and seven-rayed; in II. 5. 2 Agni, and in VIII. 72. 16 the Sun are similarly seven-rayed; and "where those seven rays are, thither goeth back mine affinity (*nābhi*, navel), Trita Āptya knoweth that, who converseth with my kin," I. 105. 9, cf. X. 64. 13. In III. 38. 4 it is as the Sun that Viśvarūpa manifests himself, "When he (the Sun) upstood, all things him adorned, who moves self-luminous; that is the Bull's, the Titan's mighty figure, it is the Omniform who takes his stand upon his aeviternities" (*mahat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya nāmā, ā viśvarūpo amṛtāni tasthau*, cf. IX. 75. 2). In VS. V. 35, Agni is addressed as the "omniform light" (*jyotir asi viśvarūpam*).

5. The Boar, Varāha, Emuṣa

The Boar, in Pauranic mythology an avatāra of Viṣṇu, who lifts up Earth from the Waters in the beginning, is in RV. a hostile power who withholds the means of life from Angels and men, and is identified with Viśvarūpa (X. 99. 6) and with Vṛtra (I. 61. 6-8, and I. 121. 11, cf. I. 32 where Vṛtra is also Vyaṁsa and the "first-born of serpents," *prathamajām ahīnām*, IV. 1. 11 where Agni *jāyata prathamaḥ . . . budhne . . . apād aśīrṣā guhamāno antā*, i. e. is Ahi Budhnya, and X. 90. 7 *puruṣaṁ jātam agrataḥ*).

In two of the RV. texts Viṣṇu is associated with Indra in the slaying of the boar; in the first, I. 61. 7, where the theft at the soma-feast is mentioned, *viṣṇu* may be adjectival, qualifying Indra, in the second, VIII. 77. 10, it is explicitly Viṣṇu that "brings back the bacon." In general, the exploit is typically Indra's, though to Viṣṇu's advantage as in TS. II. 4. 12 cited above. In RV. I. 121. 11, for example, we find "Thou great one (Indra) didst with thy bolt put to sleep the Boar, the Dragon (*vṛtram . . . varāhum*) as he lay (*āśayamānam*) in the water-channels." In TS. VI. 2. 4. 2-3 the boar Emusa. is said to have in keeping the

wealth of the Titans, beyond the seven mountains, that would be, apart from the seven worlds, and in accordance with the *asurya* possession of all things in the beginning; Indra, urged by Viṣṇu, pierces the mountains (cf. RV. VIII. 77. 6 and 96. 2) and both come into possession of the food and wealth, i. e. as in RV. VII. 5. 3 the Titans are made to relinquish their "delights" (*bhojanāni*). In TS. VII. 1. 5. 1 the Boar, who now raises the Earth from the Waters, is identified with Prajāpati; Prajāpati, who is the Sacrifice, also with Death and with the Year in ŚB. X. 4. 3. 1-3. That will no longer surprise us; nor can we wonder at the dual part played by the Boar or Viṣṇu, all such apparent contradictions being inevitable consequences of the opposing operations (*vivrata*, X. 23. 1, *virūpā kṛtāni*, III. 38. 9, etc.) and double seeming (*virūpa*, *viṣurūpa*, passim) of the deity who moves in opposite directions (*dvivartani*, X. 61. 20, etc.), stands at the parting of the ways (*panthāṁ visarge . . . tasthau*, X. 5. 6 = VS. XII. 66 *tasthau samare pathīnām*), and changes his fashion as he will (*yathāvaśam* = *anu vratā*), from sterility to productivity (VII. 101. 3 as in ŚB. XII. 7. 2. 17).

6. *Ahi-Vṛtra*

We have already outlined certain versions of the story of Vṛtra; and there can be no doubt from RV. I. 32 and other texts of the identity of the Dragon, Vṛtra, with Ahi,[24] the Serpent. Decapita-

[24] Ahi corresponds to Avestan Azhi, known also as Vishapa, "of poisonous slaver," and also to Sumerian Mušhuššu, the seven-headed dragon slain by Ninurta, later Tiāmat bisected by Marduk, who makes Heaven of one of the parts; "it would be remarkable if this entire Indian and Iranian legend was not ultimately Sumerian" (Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 130, and fig. 57, which might well be described as a picture of Indra with his *vajra*, slaying Ahi-Vṛtra). The like considerations are put forward by Frankfort in "Gods and Myths in Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, I, 1934, p. 19 in connection with his Pl. III, fig. h, cf. Pl. I, fig. a in the same journal, of which figures the same may be said as of Langdon's. It is also pointed out by Frankfort that the Sumerian seals are archetypal for the slaying of the many-headed Hydra by Herakles; it may be added that Zeus is represented in Greek mythology both as snake and bull, and that the conflict of Herakles with the Hydra is really that of son with father, cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 495.

There can be no possible doubt of the correspondance of Vedic *ahi*, *sarpa*, and *pṛdāku* with later *nāga*; this is not only apparent on ontological grounds (characteristic power of *nāgas* to appear either as "snakes" or

tion is indicated in I. 52. 10 "severed his head" (*abhinac chiraḥ*, cf. II. 11. 2 *ava abhinat*, II. 20. 6 *ava . . . śiro bharad dāsasya*, VIII. 6. 6 *śiro bibheda*), and recalling the equivalence of *śiras* and *sānu* (denoting the "head" of the Mahāvīra vessel respectively in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 and Āp. Śr. S. XV. 2. 14), the same is apparent in I. 32. 7, where a blow on the nape of the neck may be understood, and this is followed by a further dismemberment. In the texts to

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as "men" at will, association of *nāgas* with Varuṇa, and the West, and waters generally, and the manner in which the *nāgas*, often seven-headed, are represented in iconography), but also in the significant designation *ahi-nāga* applied to the Serpent overcome by the Buddha in the fire temple, in *Mahāvagga* I. 15. 7 (P. T. S. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 1. 25).

As regards Varuṇa, the assimilation to Ahi-Vṛtra is developed in the following section. If he is not explicitly called a snake in RV. the later texts and iconography are unanimous in recognizing that such is his real nature. Varuṇa is an adder (*pṛdāku*) in AV. XII. 3. 57, like the rivers ab intra, *pṛdākvaḥ*, *ib.* I. 27. 1; *ib.* X. 4. 17, Indra overcomes both the male and female adders, i. e. purifies them as he does Apālā in RV. VIII. 91. Apotropaic texts respecting Varuṇa abound, e. g. RV. X. 97. 16, where Varuṇa is assimilated to Yama, and ŚB. XII. 7. 2. 17, where Varuṇa is "evil" (*pāpman*), the purpose of the offering being to convert him into Savitṛ in accordance with RV. VII. 101. 3. The three last cited texts are inseparably connected. Ocean, Varuṇa's express domain, is "abode of nāgas" (*nāgānām ālayam*, Mbh. I. 21. 6 and 25. 4), and *nāgas* are represented amongst the angels of the western quarter at Barhut (JRAS. 1928, p. 392). Varuṇa and Sagara are *nāgarājas* in the *Mahāvyutpatti*; Varuṇa-pañcami replaces the more usual expression Nāga-pañcami in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*; in Nepal, a seven-hooded Varuṇa may occupy the centre of a *nāgamaṇḍala*. In Buddhist cosmology Virūpākṣa, who as Regent of the West corresponds to Varuṇa, is again a *nāgarāja*. It should be noted that *virūpa* cannot originally have meant "deformed," for which we have *duṣkṛta* in quite other connections; *virūpa* in RV. always implies a duality of aspect, i. e. an alternation of aspect in what is essentially the same or consubstantial, e. g. I. 95. 1, I. 122. 2, V. 1. 4, where Night and Dawn are *virūpā*, "of unlike aspect," VII. 103 where the Brahman frogs are similarly designated, and X. 95. 16 where Urvaśī dwells amongst mortals "in another aspect," *virūpā*. Virūpākṣa should therefore mean "having unlike eyes," which is appropriate for Varuṇa, whose "eyes" are the Sun and Moon.

The Buddha legend preserves a double version of Indra's (occasionally Agni's or Bṛhaspati's) battle with Ahi-Vṛtra, who is also Mṛtyu, the principle of Death: first, in the Māra Dharṣaṇa, where may be noted Māra's (= Mṛtyu's) use of weapons characteristic for Ahi, who likewise resorts to lightning, thunder, and rain of hail (RV. I. 32. 13), or for the Dāsa Namuci who "makes women his weapons" (RV. V. 30. 9), and also that the Buddha is deserted by the timorous Angels, just as in Indra in

be cited, it is this subdivision of an originally simple recumbent and sleeping principle that should be especially remarked. In IV. 19. 3 "Thou (Indra) didst dismember (*vi ṛṇā*) him, the impartite (*aparvan*) Serpent (*ahim* = *vṛtram* in verse 1), him the insatiate, who was unawakened (*abudhyam*), dormant (*abudhyamānam*), fast asleep (*suṣupāṇam*), outstretched (*viyatam*) lying (*āśayānam*) against the seven scarps" (*sapta prati pravataḥ*, cf. *varāham tiro adrim* in I. 67. 7, *saptānāṁ girīṇām* in TS. VI. 2. 4. 3). In II. 11. 5 "Thou, Champion (Indra), hast smitten in thy manly might (*vīryeṇa*) the Serpent (*ahim* = *vṛtram* in verse 9), the Magician, as he lurked obscured and hidden away in secret in the Waters (*guhā hitaṁ guhyaṁ gūḷham apsv apīvṛtam māyinaṁ kṣiyantam*), him that held down the Waters and the Light of

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RV. passim, e. g. IV. 18. 11, VIII. 93. 14-15, VIII. 96. 7 ("shrinking from the snort of Vṛtra, all the Angels, thy companions, left thee in the lurch"), and in AB. III. 20 and IV. 5; second, in the Conversion of the Jaṭilas (who are also Kaśyapas, "Tortoises," cf. RV. IX. 114. 2 and AV. passim where Kaśyapa is an, or the, Prajāpati, see MV. pp. 151, 153), on which occasion the Buddha spends the night in a fire-temple, the resort of the Nāga Ahi (*ahināgam* in *Mahāvagga*, I. 15. 17), and overcomes him, fighting fire with fire (*tejasā tejam*). In Jaina tradition the story survives in the episode of Mahāvīra's (a name significant of Indra in the Vedic formulations, e. g. I. 32. 6) conflict with an unnamed adversary who appears in the form of a serpent (Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, parva 10, see *MFA. Bulletin* No. 197, 1935, pp. 38, 39 with fig. 3 on p. 37); the serpent here, however, is elsewhere called Saṁgana, i. e. Yama (for fuller discussion see my "The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Painting," to appear immediately in *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*. The name of Jina, "Conqueror," applied to Mahāvīra, no less than that of Tīrthaṁkara, is redolent of Vedic phraseology. There is in fact in the Indian tradition no aspect of the proceeding power that is not of necessity engaged in a mortal conflict with Death, in the beginning.

Finally, the whole problem of the Aryan or non-Aryan character of *nāgas* has been somewhat incorrectly stated, cf. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 32, 191, 225, 226. The serpents themselves are non-Aryan by definition, only becoming Aryans by "qualification" (*arhaṇa*) and by "creeping farther" (*atisarpaṇa*, whence the imitation of this motion in the sacrificial ritual); on the other hand, the doctrine *about* serpents is just as much an integral and indispensable part of the Vedic Aryan as it is of any non-Aryan, e. g. the Sumerian tradition. The tremendous emphasis laid on the dragon-slaying motif in all traditions can be readily understood when we realize that the dismemberment of the ophidian power is precisely the act of creation.

Heaven" (*apo dyāṁ tastambhvāṅsam*,[25] where as in so many other texts, *dyu* is tantamount to "Sun"). The sequence is explicit in II. 19. 2-3, where "This mighty Indra, hewing apart the Serpent that withheld the flood (*arṇo vṛtam*),[26] propelled the flood of waters to the sea (of life), brought about the Sun's nativity (*ajanayat sūryam*), found the cattle, by means of night fulfilled the work of days," cf. I. 61. 10. Similarly II. 11. 18, "Thou clavest the spidery Vṛtra, son of Dānu[27] (*vṛtraṁ dānum aurṇavābham*, Vṛtra being similarly Dānava in RV. I. 32. 9 and ŚB. I. 6. 3. 9), unveiled the Light for the Aryan-ilk (*apa avṛṇor jyotir*

[25] Root *stabh* is employed here not in the favorable sense of "support" but as in RV. VI. 44. 22, where Soma "pins down the miser" (*paṇim asthabhāyat*).

[26] *Vṛtam*, from root *vṛ*, to "invest," etc., and certainly with an implied *vṛtram*, as is explicit in I. 52. 2 and VIII. 12. 26, *vṛtraṁ nadī-vṛtam*, "the Dragon that invests the rivers and will not let them go." In this connection, and without taking up at length the Qabbalistic exegesis of Genesis, and the correspondence of Pharaoh, Moses, Egyptians, and Israelites respectively to Vṛtra-Namuci, Indra, Asuras, and Aryans, may be remarked the notable text Ezekiel, XXIX. 3, "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great Dragon (*tanim* = Babylonian *tiāmat*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said: My river is my own, and I have made it for myself."

[27] The names are confusing. In ŚB. loc. cit., Danu and Danāyū or Dānavī receive the stricken Vṛtra "as his mother and father." Danu does not occur in RV. Dānu in II. 11. 18 is evidently patronymic or matronymic, presumably the latter, in which case either Danu or Dānu could be assumed for the mother's name. In I. 32. 9 Dānu with *vṛtraputrā* must be the mother; that when Indra sinks them both, "Mother above and son below, there Dānu lay, like cow with calf" (*sahavatsā na dhenuḥ*), and that *dānu* is also "fluid," "moisture" or "mist" are perfectly consonant, for the floods are said to flow over Vṛtra's stricken body. "Cow with calf" suggest Aditi-Vāc and Agni (cf. I. 164. 17), here, of course, that Agni who takes refuge in the Waters (X. 51. 1 etc.); Dānu is in fact the consort of the Ādityas Mitrāvaruṇā (*dānunas patī* in I. 136. 3 and II. 41. 6) or of the Aśvins (*dānunas patī* in VIII. 8. 16), Ahi is born of the Waters (*abjā* in VII. 34. 16), Śuṣṇa son of the mist (*miho napāt*, V. 32. 4), Agni son of the Waters, passim, the "glittering (*dānucitrāḥ*) Waters" of V. 31. 6, the "Waters whose wealth" (*rādhasā dānuḥ*) flows for Indra in I. 54. 7. Dānu and Dānava discussed above are etymologically distinct from *dānu* and *dānava* derived from *dā* to "give" and meaning generous. Such complexities can only be understood in the light of the doctrine of dual operation (*vivrata*) which is so evidently assumed throughout RV., as it is also in every other body of traditional teaching.

āryāya), sank the Dasyu";[28] the following verse implying an identification of Viśvarūpa with Vṛtra, elsewhere his brother. The fullest and perhaps most interesting account occurs in RV. I. 32; here Indra dissevers Vyaṁsa, "the most Vṛtra, firstborn of the Serpents, as a tree is cut up into logs, so that he lies emasculate (*vṛṣṇo vadhriḥ*),[29] divided into many parts" (*purutrā . . . vyastaḥ*).

[28] Ārya and Dāsa or Dasyu in RV. are synonymous with Deva and Manuṣya or Narya, and Asura respectively, the Aryans being those who cross the Waters and settle round the Light, a proposition discussed in my *Ṛg Veda as Land-Náma-Bók*. It is only by analogy that such terms have been applied to human societies; incidentally, the inconsequence of a racial discrimination based on the supposed existence of an ethnic Aryan type becomes apparent when we reflect that we are all Aryans by father-right and non-Aryans on the mother-side, for the feminine principle is always an Asurī in RV., we are children of day and night, of fire and water, our very existence derives from an exogamy and miscegenation, who inherit accordingly a bilateral symmetry, cf. the correlation of the right and left eyes with Indra and Indrāṇī in śB. X. 5. 2 and Upaniṣads; Eve, "the mother of all living," is drawn from Adam's *side*, cf. Parśu, the "Rib," daughter of Manu (X. 86. 23), who is the mother of the children of men (śB. I. 8. 1. 8-11); while in the Shah Nāmah, which Professor F. W. Buckler called "an epic of the genealogy of the kingdom of God on earth," the mother is always Turanian, and many an Indian dynasty traces its ancestry to a Nāginī; and in the Edda, the consorts of the Aesir are always of Wane or giant origin.

[29] "Emasculate," in line with the descriptions elsewhere of the deity ab intra as blind, halt, and ineffectual, and the designation of the feminine principle ab intra as Vadhrimatī: "Now is he sterile, now progenitive, he shapes his fashion as he will" (*starīr u tvad bhavati sūta u tvad, yathā-vaśaṁ tanvaṁ cakra eṣaḥ*, RV. VII. 101. 3), corresponding on the one hand to AV. VI. 72. 1, "As by his titan magic the black (snake) extends himself, assuming forms (i. e. those of 'serpent' or those of 'man') at will" (*yathāsitaḥ prathayate vaśāṁ anu vapūṁṣi kṛṇvann asurasya māyayā*), —*asita*, the "black" (snake, skin, or garment) referring to the ab intra aspect of Agni or the Sun, as in AV. XII. 3. 55 and TS. III. 2. 2. 2,—and on the other to RV. X. 168. 4 where "the Spirit of the Angels moves at will, so let us come unto this Gale with offering" (*ātmā devānām . . . yathā-vaśaṁ carati . . . tasmai vātāya haviṣā vidhema*). The doctrine of the "impotence of the Godhead" is common to Vedic tradition and Christian exegesis (typically in Eckhart), but requires a longer and fuller discussion than can be undertaken here.

The assimilation of Vṛtra's fall to the felling and cutting up of a tree (cf. X. 89. 7) is itself significant in connection with the question asked in *brahmodya*, X. 31. 7 = X. 81. 4, "What was the wood, what the tree out of which they fashioned Heaven and Earth?", and with the customary designation of Agni and Soma as *vanaspati*.

In I. 61. 10 Indra cuts to pieces the scorching Vṛtra (*śuṣantam* being tantamount to an identification with Śuṣna, "Drought," as also in VIII. 6. 14-15); in VIII. 6. 13 "rends him joint from joint, and drives the Waters to the Sea," in I. 130. 4 "using his bolt (on Ahi) like a carving knife," while in VIII. 7. 23 it is Indra's allies the Maruts that "tear him joint from joint" (*vi vṛtraṁ parvaśo yayuḥ*). It remains to note the conspicuous correspondences and contrasts. The consubstantiality of Agni with Ahi Budhnya is generally admitted (VM. p. 73); in I. 79. 1, Agni is a "raging serpent" (*ahir dhunir, dhuni* occurring also as the name of a Titan in VII. 19. 4 and X. 113. 9); AB. III. 36 employing a strictly technical terminology explains that Ahi Budhnya is invisibly (*parokṣena*) what Agni Gārhapatya is visibly (*pratyakṣa*), and VS. V. 33, where Ahi Budhnya and Aja Ekapad,[30] the Sun, are identified and the epithet "Waylord" (*adhvapati*) distinctive of Agni is used in the invocation. The language of II. 11. 5 cited above corresponds to terms that are characteristic for the hidden Sun, e. g. V. 40. 6 f. where when the Sun has been smitten with

[30] For the Sun as Ekapad, "One footed," see Dumont in JAOS. 53. 326 ff. The Sun is originally footless, Varuṇa gives him feet that he may proceed, RV. I. 24. 8; thus Varuṇa himself as Sun "with his bright foot ascends the vault of heaven (*arcinā padā nākam āruhat*, VIII. 41. 8. The Sun's feet are his rays; his one foot that is alternately dark and bright (Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) is coincident with the axis of the universe (*skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat*, VIII. 41. 10); that it is alternately dark and bright (*asita, śucina*, Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) corresponds to RV. V. 62. 8 where the pillar that Varuṇa and Mitra mount is golden at dawn and bronze at sunset, what they see from above when the pillar is golden being the finite (*ditim*), and what they see when it is brazen is the infinite (*aditim*). The Sun has also, of course, a "thousand feet" (*sahasrapādam*, in VIII. 69. 16), i. e. indefinitely numerous rays, every one of which is from the standpoint of the corresponding individual the Sun's "one foot," and at the same time the pillar (*skambha* = stauros) or bridge (*setu* = cinvad, bifröst, etc.) that at once connects and divides Heaven from Earth, the light from the darkness.

A further allusion to the Sun as *ekapad* occurs in VS. XXIII. 50, *ekena aṅgena paryemi*. The conception must at one time have been visually represented; for it has survived in folk art to the present day, see the two representations of the "Mansion of the Sun," reproduced from *alpōna drawings*, in A. N. Tagore, *Bānglar Vrata*, Calcutta, n. d., Pl. 99, where moreover the Sun's "one foot" is supported by a boat or swing (*nau* and *preṅkha* in RV. VII. 88. 3, cf. VI. 58. 3, golden *preṅkha* in VII. 87. 5, *naunagara* in JB. I. 125).

darkness by the titanic Svarbhānu, Atri "finds him, hidden by the darkness and inoperative" (*gūḷhaṁ sūryaṁ tamasā apavratena . . . avindat*, where *apavrata* = *avrata*, "idle," a pejorative designation often applied to the non-Aryan aspect, and denoting the divine "idleness," here in other words denoting that the Sun does not shine, but is overcast, *apīvṛtam*, as in II. 11. 5); cf. I. 117. 4-5, where Rebha in need of aid is assimilated to the "hidden horse (*aśvaṁ na gūḷham*) . . . sleeping in Destruction's womb (*suṣupvāṅsaṁ na nirṛter upasthe*, cf. I. 164. 32), the Sun abiding in the Darkness" (*sūryaṁ na tamasi kṣiyantam*, cf. *tamasi kṣesi* addressed to Agni, whose procession is delayed, in X. 51. 5, and *kṣeti budhnaḥ* applied to Agni as "remaining in his ground" even while he goes forth, in III. 55. 7).[31]

The designation *aurṇavābha*, patronymic or simply adjectival form of Ūrṇavābha, "thread-spinner," i. e. "Spider," is of no little interest. In RV. VIII. 77. 1-2 "the stark and far-famed Aurṇavābha and Ahīṣuva" are destined to be overthrown by Indra, as befalls in VIII. 32. 26, where *aurṇavābham* qualifies *vṛtram* as in II. 11. 18. In the Brāhmaṇas, Ūrṇāyu is a Gandharva. In RV. VI. 15. 16 the altar, Agni's birthplace, is "an anointed, downy nest" (*ūrṇāvantaṁ yoniṁ kulāyinaṁ ghṛtavantam*, where *ūrṇāvantam* may be regarded as synonymous with *aurṇavābham*, and there is also an allusion to the pubescent vulva, cf. Apālā's prayer in VIII. 91. 5 fulfilled in Romasā in I. 126. 7).[32] In the same way

[31] All the associations of Agni with the word *budhna* in RV. imply his *budhnya*, chthonic character; his terrestrial origin in the worlds being always analogous to this origination in the ground of the divine being. Further evidence of the consubstantiality of Agni with the Serpent ab intra may be cited in the identification of Mitra with the Titan Vamacitra or Vipracitti, the eldest son of Danu and father of Rahu or Namuci, as worked out by Przyluski, "Un Dieu Iranien dans l'Inde," in *Rocznik Orjentalisttyzny*, VII.

In Apuleius, Psyche's husband, otherwise assimilable to the Indian Purūravas, is described in what purports to be a Miletian oracle as "no wight of humane seed, but Serpent dire and fierce as might be thought, who flies with wings . . . the rivers blacke and deadly floudes of paine, and darkness eke, as thrall to him remaine" (Adlington's version, 1639).

[32] The same is implied in V. 5. 4 where the *barhis* or "strew" is addressed as "soft as down" (*ūrṇamradāḥ*), followed in the next verse by "Open yourselves, ye doors angelic, apt for advent" (*devīr dvāro vi śrayadhvaṁ suprāyaṇāḥ*), an almost literal parallel to X. 18. 10-11 invoking "girlish Mother Earth to be as soft as down to him of the Guerdon"

I. 105. 9, "Where are those seven rays spun forth (*ātatāḥ*), there is my navel" (*nābhiḥ*, i. e. Agni's chthonic navel, *nābhiḥ pṛthivyāḥ*, and the navel of aeviternity, *amṛtasya nābhiḥ*, passim). The latter passage is to be borne in mind in connection with the word *ūrṇanābhi*, the regular designation of the Spider in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads: e. g. BU. II. 1. 20, where all things are said to proceed from their source "as a spider might ascend by means of

(*dakṣiṇāvate*, Dakṣiṇā being the Dawn as in I. 123. 1 and X. 107, mother of Agni as in III. 58. 1, likewise Indrāṇī as in II. 11. 21, and the Serpent Queen), followed by "Be opened up (*uc chvañcasva*), O Earth, hinder him not (*mā ni bādhathaḥ*), be apt for advent (*sūpāyanā*), wrap him in down (*abhi . . . ūrṇuhi*, from root *vṛ*, as in *ūrṇa*) as a mother wraps her skirt about her son," by which we understand indue him in the robe of light (*nirṇijam, drāpiṁ hiraṇyam*, etc.) that he puts on when he appears in the worlds; "Be opened up" implying, not "Open to receive," but "Open to give out." It would take overlong to discuss here the proposition that the application of the funeral hymns must be clearly distinguished from their wording, which has all to do with birth, and not with burial. Not that the theme of resurrection is any but fitting matter for a requiem; but rather and on the contrary, that the language of the funeral hymns implies the thought *Mors janua vitae*. That in general the *yogi* and *saṁnyasī* are not cremated, but thrown into water or simply buried is in accord with strictest logic, inasmuch as these have not desired a resurrection, but to be dead and buried in the Godhead.

To *ūrṇamradāḥ* (*barhis*) cited above from RV. V. 5. 4 corresponds exactly to ŚB. I. 3. 37 and BU. VI. 4. 3, *lomāni barhis*. It may be added that there can be no doubt of the identity of the *ūrṇāvantaṁ yoniṁ kulāyinaṁ ghṛtavantaṁ savitre*, Agni's birthplace in RV. VI. 15. 16, cf. AB. I. 28 *savitre kulāyam . . . ūrṇāstukāḥ*, with the *viśvambhara kulāya*, "all supporting nest" in BU. I. 4. 7, rightly although not literally rendered by Hume (*Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 82) as "fire-holder," i. e. fire-place or hearth. But this is not (as Hume surmises) the best source for the Vedantic simile "as fire is latent in firewood or in covered embers"; this simile derives far more directly from the familiar Vedic concept expressed in V. 11. 6 where the Angirases find Agni "lying hidden in every log" (*guhā hitam . . . śiśriyāṇaṁ vanevane*, cf. X. 91. 2 and many similar passages).

The "Spider" imagery is the obvious source of the well-known *ūrṇā*, the brow-spot or tuft that is a constant *lakṣaṇa* of the Buddha as Mahāpurisa; which *ūrṇā*, especially in Japanese iconography, is often represented not merely as a mole, but as the source of radiating lines of light. That this *ūrṇā* is also in a certain sense an "eye," and is analogous to the third eye of Śiva, still more marks his solar kinship, who is called the "eye in the world (*cakkhuṁ loke*), i. e. that "Eye," the Sun, which in RV. passim "surveys all things" (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe*).

its thread (*yathorṇanābhiś tantunoccaret*), as sparks ascend from fire," and *Muṇḍaka Up*, I. 7, "Just as a spider emanates and withdraws (*sṛjate ghṛṇate*, lit. 'pours out and dries up'), so all this comes into being from him who does not flow forth" (*akṣarāt sambhavati iha viśvam*). The Sun, as we have already seen, shines forth with seven rays; or alternatively, it is the co-creators (*kavayaḥ*) operating sacrificially as mediate causes, who "spin their seven threads to form the web" (*sapta tantūn vi tanire kavaya otavai*, I. 164. 5); which "seven rays spun forth" (*sapta rasmayaś tatāḥ*) are proper to the Inductor of the Sacrifice (Agni or Sun) who as eighth Āditya "impels all things" (*viśvam invati*, II. 5. 2); and these seven rays as we have seen are also Viśvarūpa's.

A sacrificial *gāthā* quoted in KB. XIX. 3 explicitly refers to the Year, the Sun, as a spider. The "Spider," then, is Agni and/or the Sun, regarded as a Titan while the rays are hidden in his belly, as an Angel when he spins the web; each thread of which, for one that can pursue the clew, follow let us say the *via analogia*, unravelling the tissue, provides a pathway leading in again towards its source. Needless to say, the "Spider" image analysed above involves the well-known doctrine of the *sūtrātman*, as can be readily seen if we collate RV. X. 168. 4 where the Sun "is the spiration of the Angels" (*ātmā devānām*) with ŚB. VIII. 7. 3. 10 "Yonder Sun connects (*samāvayate*) these worlds by a thread (*sūtre*), and what that thread is is the Gale" (*vāyuḥ*), cf. also BG. VII. 7, "All this universe is strung on me like rows of jewels on a string" (*protaṁ sūtre maṇigaṇā iva*). It may be added that the symbolism of the spider's web of which the threads are rays of light is but a special form of the more universal symbolism of spinning and weaving that is so commonly employed in the Vedic and in other forms of the universal tradition, cf. for example, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXX. 49-51, "living light . . . in such a web of its refulgence" (*luce viva . . . di tal velo di suo fulgor*).

In IV. 19. 3 cited above the terms *abudhyam*, *suṣupānam*, and *āśayānam* are to be noted. All have a common implication, a shade of which can be recognized when we speak colloquially of the sun as "going to bed" at night; for he similarly "couches" in the night of time. *Abudhya* is primarily "unawakened," and secondarily "stupid," a wellknown characteristic of giants in all folklore, *suṣupānam* and *āśayānam*, "sleepy and lying" correspond to the equally characteristic notion of "brooding" (over treasure).

It is significant that in I. 103. 7, Indra actually "awakens the inert Serpent with his bolt" (*sasantaṁ vajreṇa abodhayo 'him*); for to be awake (*budh, jāgṛ*) is specific for the Angels in RV. passim, and above all for Agni, who is *uṣarbudh*, "awakened at dawn," awakening being the same as kindling, cf. V. 1. 1, *abodhy agniḥ samidhā . . . prati . . . uṣasam*, and in IV. 23. 7-8 the sequence "He smites the Indra-less destructive fiend" (*druhaṁ jighāṅsan dhvarasam anindrām*). . . . The radiant cosmic[33] laud pierces the deaf ears of Life, awakening him" (*ṛtasya śloko badhirā tatarda karṇā budhānaḥ śucamāna āyoḥ*); in the latter passage Āyus is specifically Agni[34] (Bloomfield in JAOS. XX. 180) and we recognize the concept of him as a "deaf adder" ante principium. Alternatively, in I. 113. 4 it is Dawn that awakens the several worlds, or all beings (*ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā*). That Ahi is smitten and awakened is then the same as to say that the chthonic Serpent is con-verted (*samvṛt*) or extroverted (*pravṛt*), the Darkness literally up-turned (*udvṛt*) into Light. Thus *buddha*, "awakened," is also "illuminate." It is most interesting to observe that the original concept of the awakened serpent is clearly preserved in Buddhist thought, viz. in the Commentator's explanation of *budh* as "an uprising from the sleep of the kindred of the slime" (*bujjhatī kilesa-santāna-niddāya uṭṭhahati, Atthasālinī*, 464, text p. 217).

Āśayānam, "lying down," is specific for the deity ab intra, and contrasts with the act of procession, which is a being seated (*sad*), a standing up (*sthā*, generally with *urdhvā*, cf. Sāyaṇa's *sthitaṁ padārtham jātam*), and a motion (*car*, whence the *pañca jana* are sometimes referred to as *carṣaṇayaḥ*). To lie and to sleep, to stand up and to wake, are respectively coincident. From the *karmakāṇḍa* point of the latter condition is of course superior, though the former is logically prior; from the *jñānakāṇḍa* point of view, the reverse holds good, the well-known Indian saying "Better to stand than

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[33] *Ṛtasya*, "cosmic," inasmuch as Greek Kosmos is precisely "Order."

[34] The designation Āyu is here applied to Agni ab intra; the Gandharva Ūrṇāyu within is Viśvāyu without: for the raison d'etre of *ūrṇā-* here, see the discussion of the "Spider" symbolism, above, and for that of *-āyu*, "Life" cf. John, I. 3-4 "All things that have been made were Life (*vita* = *āyus*) in Him," and Col. I. 16, "In him (the Son) were created all things," cf. AV. XII. 3. 47 "a filial (*kaumāra*) world hath been born, a son."

walk, better to sit than stand, better to lie than sit" providing a good example of what is known as "inverse thinking" or "procedure upstream."

The divine procession involves an apparent partition; *krama* is *dvitva* (TP. XXI. 16). In the Vedic dragon-slaying texts, others as well as those cited above, nothing is more conspicuous than the emphasis laid on the scission or subdivision of the originally impartite (*aparvan*) ophidian principle. It is precisely in the same way, except that the strictly speaking mental character of the act is also indicated, that RV. describes the subdivision of That One (*tad ekam*, X. 129. 2) Integral Multiplicity (*víśvam ekam*, III. 54. 8—and a characteristic formula in Plotinus), the unity of the Person and the Word (*puruṣa, vāc*), which division is effected by the First Sacrifice. "It is by their wordings that the vibrant co-creators (*vipraḥ kavayaḥ*) conceive him to be manifold who abideth One" (*vacobhir ekaṁ santaṁ bahudhā kalpayanti*, X. 114. 5), "calling him manifold who is but One" (*ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanty agnim . . .*, I. 164. 46), cf. Makha, whom "so long as he was one, the many did not overcome (*ekaṁ santam bahuvo nābhyadhṛṣṇuvan*, TA. V. 1. 3). Similarly as regards the feminine aspect: "By the sacrifice they followed up the footprint (*padavīyam = vestigium pedi*) of the Word, found her harboring in the Prophets, brought her forth, departed her distributively (*vy adadhuḥ purutrā*), the Seven Singers uttered her in concert everywhere (X. 71. 3), who says also of herself, "The Angels have departed me distributively" (*mā devā vy adadhuḥ purutrā*,[35] X. 125. 3).

It is equally significant that no essential value would be really changed in the Puruṣasūkta by a substitution of "Vṛtra" for "Puruṣa": here, X. 90. 11-14, the question is asked in *brahmodya* fashion, "When they divided up (*vy adadhuḥ*) the Person, how-many-fold did they think him out to be?" (*katidhā vy akalpayan*),

[35] *Vy adadhuḥ* amounts to "contracted and identified into variety." The use of *vad, klp* (as also in *saṁkalpa*, "notion," e. g. Kena Up. 29-30, where the notion formed of deity is contrasted with the blinding vision of the deity as he is in himself) must be understood in connection with the whole Vedic doctrine of creation by designation, *nāmadheya*), see my "Vedic Exemplarism" to appear in the *James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume*, and Scharbau, *Der Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, pp. 123-132.

the answer following ending with the words "Thus they designed the worlds" (*lokān akalpayan*); a further correspondance being patent in verse 14, "from his head was Heaven adverted (*śīrṣṇo dyauḥ sam avartata*), from his feet the Earth,"[36] whence however it is clear that the Puruṣa has already assumed a human aspect, ante principium, or rather does so in principio; "he shines upon the world as Person" (*puruṣarūpeṇa*, AA. II. 2. 1), for the Brahman-Yakṣa "chooses the Person for procession" (*puruṣaṁ prapapadanāye*, JUB. IV. 23-24), the Sacrifice is the Eternal Man, our Sire (*yajño manuḥ . . . naḥ pitā*, X. 100. 5), that is Agni ("Be Manu thou, beget the angelic kindred," *manur bhava janayā daivyaṁ janam*, X. 53. 6), and the Year (AB. II. 17, ŚB. X. 4. 3. 1-3, etc.). The Sacrifice is an eternal *puruṣa-medha*.

The expression "footless and handless" (*apād ahastaḥ*)—a serpent kenning—applied in I. 32. 7 to Ahi-Vṛtra, in III. 30. 8 to Kuṇāru and Vṛtra,[37] represents the converse of what is applicable to the manifested Sun, Sun, Sūrya or Savitṛ, respectively "single-footed" and "golden-handed" (*ekapad, hiraṇyahastaḥ*, passim) and the manifested Agni, "footed" or who is preeminently "footed (*padavīḥ*) waywise leader" (*vidvān pathaḥ puraeta*, V. 46. 1), "the herdsman never-falling as he goes about his ways" (*gopām anipadyamānam . . . pathibhiś carantam*, I. 164. 31), but "footless and headless, hiding both his ends (*apād aśīrṣā guhamāno antā*, cf. X. 79. 2, *guhā siro nihitam ṛdhag akṣī*) when first born in the ground of space (*budhne rajasaḥ*, i. e. born as Ahi Budhnya), in his matrix, in the Bull's nest" (*asya yonau . . . vṛṣabhasya nīḷe*, IV. 1. 11), i. e. ante principium, immediately antecedent to his kindling.

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[36] As in the Edda, *Grimnismal*, 40, "From Ymir's flesh the Earth was shapen . . . and Heaven from his skull" (*ór hausi himinn*). The account of the Titan Ymir's prior being found in *Völuspa*, 3, *Ár vas alda þars ymir bygþi . . . jörþ fannsk áeva né upphiminn, gap vas ginnunga, en gras hvergi*, corresponds exactly to RV. I. 129. 1 and 3. Similarly in the Babylonian legend, Marduk bisects Tiāmat, the dragon-mother of the gods, and makes Heaven of her upper part, etc.

[37] In ŚB. I. 7. 1. 1 the soma-guardian (i. e. the Gandharva, whose consort Indra so often beguiles, e. g. in JB. I. 125, see Bloomfield in JAOS. XXVIII. 80 ff.) is similarly a "footless archer" (*apād astā*); the Gandharva, in other words, is the dragon or serpent guardian of the Tree of Life, as in all other mythologies.

7. *Procession is a sunwise turn*

In connection with the use of *vṛt*, it is to be observed that the "turn about" is always right handed, the powers of darkness being, as in other traditions, those of the left, the powers of light those of the right. The smitten Dasyu "sinks on Indra's left" (RV. II. 11. 18), "Indra with his left hand constrains the giants (*vrādhataḥ*, as in X. 49. 8, X. 69. 10), with his right lays hold upon his deeds" (*dakṣiṇe saṁ gṛbhītā kṛtāni*). As Dakṣa is virtually the right hand of God, so Dakṣiṇā is "right lady," viz. in RV. primarily the Dawn, the milch-cow, and mother of Agni (I. 123. 1, III. 58. 1) and in TS. VI. 1. 3. 6 similarly of Indra, and it may be easily seen how the secondary meaning of *dakṣiṇā*, "sacrificial fee" is derived; for the First Sacrifice is always a *sattra* performed by the officiants on their own behalf, and wealthy Dawn with her abundant kine is their reward. On the other hand when the feminine principle is considered with respect to her origin, just as Heaven is "above" and Earth "below," so "he" is right and "she" left, as in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 9, BU. IV. 2. 2-3, and MU. VII. 11, where the "person" in the right eye is Indra, the "person" in the left Indrāṇī or Virāj, their conjunction taking place in the "heart," or ritually, within the veiled *sadas*. The sacrificer himself moves sunwise, "He makes a right turn (*prasalavyāvartayati*), thereby he turns yonder Sun to the right, and accordingly yonder Sun moves round these worlds from left to right" (ŚB. VII. 5. 1. 37); in the same way the hempen girdle is twisted sunwise, which is the "human" way, "and were it twisted widdershins, it would be sacred to the Fathers" (*ib.* III. 2. 1. 13, cf. also I. 2. 1. 12 with Eggeling's note).

The notion of a single principle that faces in two opposite directions, that namely of the Janus type in iconography, is thus extensively developed in RV., e. g. X. 5. 6, where Agni is stationed "at the parting of the ways" (*panthāṁ visarge*), that is of course on the threshold of the gate of the worlds (*lokadvāra*). Amongst the consequences of such an opposite orientation of the light and dark worlds we may note, for example, "Those that come hitherward (*arvañc*) *they* call departing" (*parācaḥ*), RV. I. 164. 19, and "What incantation the Angels pronounce forwards (*avastāt*), that the Titans pronounce backwards" (*parastāt*), JB. I. 125, analogous to which is the pulling of the Devas and Asuras in

opposite direction at the Churning of the Ocean, and it should not be overlooked that such an opposition of the opposing principles is indispensable for creation. From the *karmakāṇḍa* and *kṣatriya* point of view, the auspicious motion is forwards in a rectilinear sense; but from the *jñānakāṇḍa* and *brāhmaṇa* point of view the auspicious direction is, not indeed backwards, but—in a sense to be explained—nevertheless an opposite one. Inevitably opposite, for when the forward steps have been taken, they must in some sense be retraced, whatever has been affirmed must also be denied, whatever has been stolen must be restored, if ever the Wayfarer is to reach That One "who never really rises nor sets." For the extroverted consciousness, accordingly, an introversion is required, and this is what is alluded to in all such expressions as *pratyakcetanā*, "reverse thinking," defined as follows by Maṇiprabhā on YS. I. 29, "Thought is said to be reversed (*pratyañc*) when it turns (*añcati*) against the current" (*pratīpam*), which as Bhoja adds, "is effected in the case of yogis." The "upstream" imagery, which recurs also in the Pali Buddhist *uddhaṁsota*, "Upstreamer," is first to my knowledge explicitly employed in TS. VII. 5. 7. 4, *pratikūla iva vā itaḥ svargo lokaḥ*, "Heaven world is counter-current as it were from here," cf. JB. III. 150 and PB. XXV. 10. 12-18. As a further example of "reverse thinking" may be cited BG. II. 69, "That which is the night of all beings is for the truly poor man (*saṁnyāsī*) the time of wakening; when other beings are awake, then it is night for the seeing Muni," cf. "The light that is in you is darkness," and the discussion of *suṣupānam* in section 6 above, recalling that *suṣupta*, "Deep Sleep," is contrasted in the *jñānakāṇḍa* with the "Waking State" of consciousness, as superior to inferior.

It is important to observe, at the same time, that the "opposite direction" is not a backward one, but onward (TS. VII. 2. 1. 3 *prāñ iva hi suvargaḥ*). The Wayfarer, whether he continues on the *devayāna* or lingers on the *pitṛyāna*, is always thought of as following up the circle of the Year, he does not turn about leftwise to go backwards (incantations are repeated backwards and widdershins movements made only in *black* magic); any such backsliding (*avasarpaṇa* as contrasted with *atisarpaṇa*) would involve, not the desired integration (*saṁskaraṇa*) but a disintegration (*vikaraṇa*, *visraṁsaṇa*). It should be added that the circumambulation of the Year which represents the individual's pilgrimage envisaged as if

taking place on a given level of reference, a single "world" (*loka*), can be regarded from another point of view as a movement outwards (*pravṛtti*) from the centre towards the circumference, and conversely (*nivṛtti*), this motion following first a downward and later an upward course on a continuous spiral centred about the axis of the universe; the points at which the spiral cuts successive levels of reference, and in particular those planes that represent the "seven worlds," representing the different stations that are occupied by this individual principle in the course of its transmigration (*paribhramaṇa*) and mode-ification (*vṛtti*). The Wayfarer in either case—when half the circle has been run, or when the spiral is reversed—moves now in a new and opposite direction, "counter-current." The turning point, so critical in the history of the individual, is referred to in religion as a repentance, or even more significantly as a conversion, while in metaphysics this is the "reversion of the spiritual power," *brahmaṇa āvartaḥ* as cited above, of which dis-passion (*vairāgya*) is the sign. The pilgrimage is of significance for the pilgrim only until he reaches its end, until he "goes home" (*astam eti*), where none will ask him whence he came or whither he went; the pilgrimage begins with a gliding forth (*prasarpaṇa, upōdāsarpaṇa,* etc.) from the bonds of Varuṇa, of Death, which is coincident with the rising of the Sun, the "Light of them that sit in darkness" (*tamasi harmye*), summoning those asleep to take up their beds and walk, and ends in a "full-gliding" (*atisarpaṇa*) that is a full-release (*atimokṣa*) from "all the ills that follow in the bridesmaid's train" (X. 85. 31). That emancipation is a return to Varuṇa, to Death, no longer as prisoner, but as a friend, there the pilgrim once more sees his "Father and Mother" (I. 24. 1), Varuṇa and Aditi, Heaven and Earth, united in the common nest (X. 5. 2); Varuṇa is deathless (RV. I. 164. 38), "Death does not die" (ŚB. X. 5. 2. 3), the Comprehensor unified with Death "becomes the Single Angel, even Death, discards recurrent death, death gets him not" (BU. I. 2. 7). An understanding of the ontology and teleology thus formulated in RV. and later is indispensable for any valid interpretation of the texts themselves—*kas taṁ praveda . . . so asmin madeta* (AV. IX. 1. 6), or otherwise, *yas tan na veda kiṁ ṛcā kariṣyati* (RV. I. 164. 39).

8. Casting the snake-skin, or changing color or garment

The proposition that "The serpents are, that is, are consubstantial with, the Ādityas," the "Suns" or children of Aditi, already cited from PB., can be supported and amplified from many other texts. In RV. IX. 86. 44, for example, Soma "like Ahi, creeps forward out of his old skin" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati*); in IV. 13. 4 "Thou goest forth with mightiest steeds, discarding the black robe (*asitam . . . vasma*, cf. *asitaḥ* in AV. VI. 72. 1), the quivering rays of the Sun, as he extends his web (*tantum avavyayan . . . raśmayaḥ*, involving the "spider" imagery), sink the darkness like a skin (*carmeva*) into the Waters," cf. VII. 63. 1; that is, "when man's libation calls me to the white-garment" (*nirṇije*, X. 49. 7), for indeed Varuṇa "changes the black robes into clean and white ones in his operation" (*anu vratā*, VIII. 41. 10, his operations being respectively interior, *guhya*, and exterior, *āvis*), "Agni now wields, now layeth down his tool (*vāśīm*), as does the Titan his white garment" (VIII. 19. 23, cf. X. 20. 6 *agnim . . . vāśimantam*, "with the flaming sword"?); in X. 63. 4 the Ādityas "man-regarding, with ever open eyes, have won as Angels, won by their qualification (*arhaṇā*) a lofty aeviternity; driving in chariots of light (*jyotirathaḥ*, contrast the young streams that are still 'footless and carless' in X. 99. 4), having the serpents' magic but yet innocent (*ahimāyā anāgasaḥ*, exact equivalent of Matt. X. 16, *prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae*), have clothed them in a glorious heavenly garment." In JB. II. 134 "As Ahi casts his skin, as one would pull a blade of grass from its sheath, so he (Indra) is liberated from all evil" (*yathāhir ahi-cchavyai nirmucyeta . . . eva, sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate*). In PB. XXV. 15. 4 "By that sacrificial session, the serpents conquered Death; he conquers Death who follows the same course. Thereby they shook off their old skin, and crept onwards, put away Death and conquered him. The serpents are the Ādityas. He who follows the same course shall shine with the Ādityas' glory." In ŚB. II. 3. 1. 3 and 6 the Sun, who when he sets enters as an embryo (*garbha*) into that womb that is Agni (*agnāv eva yonau*),[38] and is

[38] "The womb that is Agni," viz. the Agni that is hidden, ab intra, may seem to stand in need of explanation. The expression tallies with PB. XXV. 10. 10, where "This Mitra pours his seed into Varuṇa" (*retaḥ varuṇo siñcati*), ŚB. II. 2. 4. 5 (see p. 387, above) where the consuming

hidden by the night as embryos are hidden, now when he rises, "Even as Ahi, so does he free himself from his skin (*yathā ahis tvaco nirmucyeta*), so does he free himself from night, from evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, cf. AB. V. 25, where the Sun is called "that Angel who has most effectively smitten evil away"); and all this is imitated in the ritual when the officiating priests "creep" (*sṛp*, with *pra, prati, niḥ, etc.*) to or from the *sadas*, "Even as Ahi frees himself from his skin, even so do they free themselves from all

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Agni, Vāc being absent, receives Prajāpati's seed, who thus reproduces himself (cf. AA. II. 3. 7 where the seed in man is proper to the Sun, the blood in woman proper to Agni, and also BU. VI. 4. 3, where in a sacramental interpretation of the sexual act, the place of Agni's kindling is analogically *madhyatas tau muṣkau*); and is likewise in agreement with BG. XIV. 3, "My womb (*yoni*) is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the embryo" (*garbhaṁ dadhāmi*, cf. RV. IX. 74. 5, where "Soma lays the embryo in Aditi's womb," *dadhāti garbham aditer upasthe*), this "Great Brahman" corresponding to the "Transcendental Nature" (*para prakṛti*) that is the "womb of all existences" (*etad yonīni bhūtāni sarvāṇi*, BG. VII. 5-6), "which Nature is mine own, and I when I resort to her, I pour forth at her will this whole body of being that hath no independent will" (*ib.* IX.) cf. Eckhart, "From the Father's embrace of his own nature comes the eternal playing (=*līlā*) of the Son"; or again, *Muṇḍaka Up.* III. 1. 3 where the Highest is referred to as "Creator, Lord, and Person, Brahma-womb" (*brahma-yoni*), cf. RV. X. 29. 14 where Agni "is born from the Titan's womb" (*asurasya jaṭharāt ajāyata*), and ŚB. VI. 1. 2. 6-9, where Prajāpati is "pregnant" (*garbhin*).

None of this is strange, even to Christian theology, but only unfamiliar: the Supreme Identity, *tad ekam*, is the unity of a conjoint principle, and were it otherwise the birth of the Son could not be called a vital operation (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 27. 2). That Supreme Identity may be called by the names of either of its conjoint principles, i. e. may be spoken of as Varuṇa or Agni (usually m. but in the passages discussed semantically f.) or as Aditi or Virāj (both usually f. but often also m.), may in other words be thought of either as f. or m. or both at once. What may be said of the Virāj, whence all things milk their characteristic virtue, "Who knoweth her progenitive duality?" (*mithunatvam*, AV. VIII. 9. 10), cf. JUB. I. 54, where the conjoint principles Sāman and Ṛk., i. e. Heaven and Earth, "become Viraj," and—only thus in unity, within—"beget" (*tau virāḍ bhūtvā prājanayatām*) the Sun, after whose birth they are again divided, is also repeatedly affirmed in RV. e. g. X. 27. 23 *kṛntatrād eṣām uparā udāyan*, "at their diremption rose the latter."

That he who both "begets" and "brings forth"—we meet in Christian doctrine with such expressions as "the Father's child-bearing"—is a conjoint principle is to allude to his essence and his nature, which are one and the same in him, so that we speak indifferently of the "divine essence"

evil." To put off the snake skin corresponds, accordingly, to "putting off the old man."

To put off Death is to escape from Varuṇa, that is from the bonds of Varuṇa. Most of the difficulties that have been felt in the interpretation of Varuṇa, as "a god of Day" or as a "god of night," have arisen from a failure to observe that he is from the beginning both, now one and now the other "according to his operation" (*anu vratā*, VIII. 41. 10), although when contrasted with Mitra, as Titan with Angel, eternal with mortal, night with day, the non-proceeding Varuṇa is the power of darkness, the Father or Elder

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and "divine nature"; he may as well be called a Mother as a Father, as in the expression "Natura naturans, Creatrix, Deus." The doctrine of the Son's eternal birth indeed implies not merely a temporal mother, but an eternal maternity in God, which is precisely that of the divine nature "by which the Father begets" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 41. 5, cf. Damascene, *de Fid. Orth.* I. 18 and Augustine, *de Trin.* XIV. 9). That God is thus the Father-Mother, or simply "Parents" (plu., du.) may be compared to the Vedic usage, in which the "Parents" are spoken of indifferently as "Mothers" (*mātarā*) or as "Fathers" (*pitarā*), Skr. having the advantage of recourse to grammatically dual forms which do not imply exactly what an "and" implies, but rather specify the dual aspect of a single substance, e. g. Mitrāvaruṇau, Indrāgnī, in the first case the relation being that of Son-Father, in the second that of King-Priest. It must not be forgotten that from an Indian point of view the "seed" is consubstantial with him whose seed it is, and thus the father *is* the embryo, and reborn *as* the son, as for example in RV. VI. 70. 3 "He in his begotten is born again, by law" (*pra prajābhir jāyate dharmaṇas pari*). Note should be taken of this in connection with the often misinterpreted doctrine of reincarnation and common confusion of reincarnation with transmigration—the father as an individual principle *transmigrates*, and is thus reborn in another mode of being, but as father is *reproduced* in his son in that same mode of being in which the fact of paternity had been occasioned by the fact of filiation. The father, who sooner or later passes away—and this applies as much to *the* Father as to any individual principle, for "God comes and goes, God passes away" (Eckhart)— is resurrected in the son, who again as in this way bringing his father to birth, as well as inasmuch as filiation is the occasion of paternity, is called his "father's father." Resurrection and transmigration are Vedic doctrines, not so "reincarnation" in the supposedly Buddhist and in the Theosophical sense. Even in BG. II. 22 it is far from likely that the "body-dweller" *dehī*) who abandons his inveterated bodies (*śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇāni*, echoing PB. XXV. 15. 4 *hitvā jīrṇāṁ tvacam*) does not imply the living principle in all things rather than any individual principle as such.

Brother ab intra (I. 164. 38, X. 85, 17-18,[39] X. 132. 4, and more explicitly in TS. II. 1. 7 and 9). In the same way Agni, "Varuṇa at birth, Mitra when kindled" (RV. V. 3. 1), "Varuṇa as Jātavedas, Mitra as priest and house-friend" (III. 5. 4), "Tanūnapāt as Titan embryo, the Praise of Men when born abroad" (III. 29. 11), is from the first point of view a man-devouring, flesh-eating power to be avoided by all means (X. 16. 9 etc.), and from the second the herald (*dūta*) of the Angels and Friend (*mitra*) and Guest (*atithi*) of man, just as his Nordic equivalent, Loki, is now the foe and now the ally of the Aesir. In general theology, these contrasted aspects of the deity are those respectively of Mercy and of Justice; in Islamic metaphysics, for example, Heaven is the reflection of his absolute Love, Hell of his absolute Majesty. Here we are concerned with Varuṇa in the latter aspect, that of the Varuṇa from whose justice the herbs are besought to deliver us[40]—"Release me from the curse, to wit from that of Varuṇa, from Yama's hobble" (*muñcantu mā śapathyād atho varuṇyād uta, atho yamasya paḍbīśāt*, X. 97. 16, where may be noted the assimilation of Varuṇa to Yama, and that to be "tied by the foot," or "hobbled," is virtually to be "footless," cf. *paḍgṛbhi*, "Foot-seizer," a demon in X. 49. 5).[41]

In X. 129. 1 the question is posed, "What covered up?" or "Who enveloped?" (*kim āvarīvar*), i. e. when as yet there was no distinction of being and non-being, life and death, day and night; the most evident answers are to be found in VIII. 100. 7 "It was

[39] That in X. 85. 18 "he who orders the seasons and is born again" (*ṛtūṅr anyo vi dadhaj jāyate punaḥ*) may not as Sāyaṇa says, be the Moon, but Agni or the Sun, may be seen by comparison with X. 72. 9 *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punar mārtāṇḍam ābharat*, II. 38. 4 where Savitṛ *vi ṛtūṅr adardhaḥ*, and X. 2. 1 and 3, where Agni is addressed, *vidvāṅ ṛtūṅr ṛtupate . . . ṛtūn kalpayāti*.

[40] "The herbs"—whose king is Soma—are invoked here, because it is by the soma-draught that Indra is inspired and empowered to release his friends.

[41] As regards "release from Varuṇa," the inverse thought (*pratyakcetanā*) should be noted in VII. 86. 2, *kadā nv antar varuṇe bhuvāni*, "When at last shall I come to be within Varuṇa?", i. e. "dead and buried in the Godhead," cf. VII. 88, where also Varuṇa is both loved and feared. It is indeed by Varuṇa himself, when he shows his face (Agni, VII. 88. 2), when he becomes Savitṛ (ŚB. XII. 2. 7. 17) that one is freed from Varuṇa's bonds; the Father *as* the Son is the redeemer from the Father's wrath.

Vṛtra that enveloped" (*yo vo avāvarīt vṛtraḥ*), and X. 90. 1 where it is the Person (*puruṣa*), whose identity with Ahi-Vṛtra has already been deduced on other grounds, who "encloses Earth all round about, and overpasses the *daśāṅgulam*" (*sa bhūmiṁ viśvato vṛtvā aty atiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*—the meaning of the last word need not detain us); or again in TS. II. 4. 12 "Inasmuch as he enclosed these worlds, that is why he is 'Vṛtra'" (*yad imāṅ lokān avṛṇot tad vṛtrasya vṛtratvam*)—this derivation from *vṛ* being etymologically preferable to that from *vṛt*, though from a *nairukta*, or hermeneutic, point of view, as well as the semantic (since both operations coincide in the referent), both derivations may be regarded as valid.

In any case, and apart from the evident functional equivalence, the common derivation of "Varuṇa" and "Vṛtra" from *vṛ* suggests that "That One" in whom and by whom all things are concealed while as yet he is "equally spirated, despirated" (*ānīd avātam*, X. 129. 2) must be as much Varuṇa as Vṛtra. That Varuṇa is indeed himself the "fence" (*varaṇa*) is indicated by the variant texts, *varaṇo vārayātai* in AV. VI. 85. 1 and X. 3. 5, and *varuṇo vārayāt* in TA. VI. 9. 2; cf. also "*vala*" = *vara*, and *varāha*, also from *vṛ*. GB. I. 7 takes up the words of RV. X. 90. 1 with slight variation; the timid waters choose the Brahman to be their king, and "inasmuch as he encompassed them, he was their de-fence (*yac ca vṛtvātiṣṭhaṅs tad varaṇo 'bhavat*), and being such a 'fence' he is also to be known as 'Varuṇa' (*taṁ vā etaṁ varaṇaṁ santaṁ varuṇa ity ācakṣate*), that is, metaphysically" (*parokṣeṇa*). Further, "In that he was separated from the sea (*samudrād amucyata*) he became 'Mucyu,' and this Mucyu is metaphysically known as 'Death' . . . Varuṇa, Mṛtyu, from all whose members as he strove and seethed (*srāntasya taptasya*) the tincture flowed as sweat (*raso 'kṣarat, so 'ṅgaraso 'bhavantam*), and that '*aṅgarasa*' is metaphysically known as 'Aṅgirasas.'" The latter part of this relatively "late" text exactly corresponds to BU. I. 2. 2, but whether or not to be regarded as wholly explicit in RV., the exegesis is altogether correct. Mucyu is no doubt the same as the Buddhist Nāga Mucalinda or Mucilinda, cf. Mucukunda in Mbh. In any case, it is impossible to doubt the identity of Varuṇa ab intra with the Asura-pitṛ, Ahi-Vṛtra, and Mṛtyu = Māra, nor his identity with the dreaded forms of Agni and Rudra—*Noster*

Deus ignis consumens est.[42] Nor can it be denied that Mitra, the kindled Agni, is Varuṇa's "face," and Sūrya his "eye." The dual Mitrāvaruṇau is the unity of both in what from our point of view appears to be a dual operation, one of contrasted activity and idleness, productivity and impotence, mercy and judgment, duration and eternity, the *viṣurūpāṇi savratā* of VI. 70. 3. In this identity, the consubstantial or consanguineous pair, Mitra and Varuṇa, the one made manifest and subject to inveteration, the other unseen and eternal (I. 164. 38 and X. 85. 17-18), are respectively the *apara* and the *para* Brahman of the Upaniṣads, likewise mortal and immortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3).[43]

[42] This identity or coincidence was maintained by Bergaigne, but has been doubted by others, including Norman Brown (JAOS. 39. 108), who however informs me in correspondance that he does not absolutely deny its possibility. It is in fact only if we omit the qualifying ab intra from the proposition enunciated as above that "it requires a strong effort of will to identify two characters so extremely dissimilar in the Veda as are Varuṇa and Vṛtra" (Brown, loc. cit.). It may be observed also, that even for the scholar who is not a professed Christian, a modern Christian inheritance and "moralistic" preoccupation have made it difficult to accept the position of the older teaching, by no means unknown even to the Middle Ages in Europe, that "good" and "evil" have a valid significance only "under the sun" and "within the worlds," but in the Supreme Identity are coincident without opposition or composition.

[43] In the present article, references are drawn as far as possible from RV. rather than from "later" sources. At the same time, I am far more in agreement with Bloomfield, who argues that we must abandon the belief "that the allusions to the story which may be gathered from the scattered mantras are the only true material for its reconstruction" and like him am "more and more inclined to the belief that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times" (JAOS. 15. 144, cf. Eggeling in SBE. XII. xxiv, and Edgerton in JAOS. 36, 197), than with Brown who argues that "the later material is so liable to follow ideas not really contained in the Rigveda" (JAOS. 51. 108). Even in the Upaniṣads I do not see the development of any new doctrines, merely a certain distinction in phraseology and a difference of emphasis. For example, as to the identity of Varuṇa with Brahman: in the first place, as remarked by Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *brahman*, "die Keime der späteren Sonderung finden sich schon vereinzelt im RV." (a statement certainly erring on the side of moderation), and in the second, it would be very difficult to distinguish the conception of Mitrāvaruṇau, the latter the "immortal, uterine brother

9. The Endlessness of Agni

In RV. IV. 1. 11-12 cited above at the close of section 6, q. v., in a description of Agni, when "first born in his ground," *budhne*, i. e. as Ahi Budhnya, he is referred to as "footless and headless, hiding both his ends" (*apād aśīrṣā guhamāno antā*). Evidently, *guhamāno antā* is tantamount to *ananta*, "endless," "infinite," "eternal," "without beginning or end," and also the name of the seven-headed *nāga*, Śeṣa, "Residue," who forms the couch (*śayana*) of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu as the latter lies recumbent on the back of the

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of the mortal; men mark the one and fail to mark the other" (RV. I. 164. 38, cf. X. 85. 17-18) from that of the two aspects of the Brahman, *para* and *apara*, respectively immortal and mortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3); in such a case it is the reference, and not the name that is significant, and in any case the distinction of *brahma* from *kṣatra*, as well as their coincidence, outwardly in the dual Indrāgnī and inwardly in the Supreme Identity, are sufficiently explicit.

It is not, of course, intended to deny that there is a linguistic development in the Upaniṣads, when we compare them with RV., which denial would be absurd. But literary history and the history of metaphysics are two very different things, one might even say that the *philosophia perennis* has no history, and cannot have a history, which was also Augustine's view. What then do we understand by Bloomfield's "two modes of literary expression (belonging to) the same cycle of thought" (loc. cit.)? Certainly not his "lyric" and "epic-didactic" modes; for RV. is no more "lyrical" in our sense than it is in any part whatever "satirical," and if the Brāhmaṇas are in parts didactic (and we should describe them rather as technical and exegetical), they are certainly not "epic" in any literary sense. The contrasted modes are those of liturgy on the one hand and initiatory teaching on the other: the exegetical parts of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads in general, are primarily concerned with *jātavidyā*, *bhāvavṛtta*, or "Genesis," that kind of knowledge, viz. which is ascribed to and expected of the Brahman par excellence, that priest viz. who does not himself take an active part in the ritual, but *jātavidyāṁ vadati* (X. 71. 11), he in other words who on the proper occasions, that would be either in the colloquies of Brahmans or in giving instruction to a qualified pupil, gives the answers to all those questions that are posed in the *brahmodya* hymns, such questions for example as *kim śvarīvar* in X. 129. 1.

Otherwise expressed, the *karmakāṇḍa*, sanctioning and enjoining action, represents that part of the Vedas proper to the *kṣatra* or temporal power; the *jñānakāṇḍa*, theoretical in the strict sense of the word, that part proper to the *brahma* or spiritual power. Nothing forbids us to suppose that the latter part was not originally "published," nor in fact "published" until later, when a linguistic development had already taken

primordial Waters at the dawn of creation, the beginning of an aeon (Mbh. I. 36. 24, etc.). *Guhamāno antā* furthermore implies a conjunction of extremities, the converse of the separation of the Puruṣa's head and feet in RV. X. 90. 14,[44] wherewith the creation is initiated; implies, in other words, such a conjunction of extremities as is represented by the ancient and well-known symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, or such strapwork motifs in art as are represented in their simplest form by the familiar symbol ∞ denoting mathematical infinity. It is then by no means surprising that in the ritual, the primary significance of which is a symbolic reintegration of the divided principle and therewith of the

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place. Reasons for such a publication at this later time may be connected with the *kṣatriya* reaction against the spiritual power, involving in the first place the claim to an intellectual equality or even a superiority, and leading finally to a heterodox development in Buddhism and Jainism.

However this may be, we could not expect to find in a liturgy also a doctrinal exposition, where it would be out of place. It is true that the material is so extensive, and so infallibly consistent with itself ("its every part seems to be conscious of and assimilated to every other part, Bloomfield in JAOS. XXIX. 288), and we may add with traditional metaphysical doctrines preserved by other than Indian cultures, that it is by no means impossible to extract from the mantras the doctrines assumed in them, just as it would be possible to deduce the implied doctrine from the Psalms or the mediaeval Latin hymns; what in fact the consistency proves is that those who composed the mantras, whether human or superhuman beings, must have been fully aware of all their implications, or if not it would be as if we had come upon a series of elegant mathematical formulae, and yet believed that they had been written down blindly, which is as much as to say under verbal as well as theoretical inspiration; whereas it is impossible to suppose that the Veda in its present form could have antedated, let us say, a knowledge of carpentry, which means that the *ipssissima verba* of the Veda, as distinct from their references, must be thought of as in some sense of human and temporal origin. It is not with respect to the words in which it is recorded that the *sanātana dharma* is eternal; the "eternity" of tradition has nothing to do with the possible "dating" of a given scripture as late as the first millennium B. C.

[44] That in X. 90. 1 the Puruṣa, in the beginning, is said to have a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, cannot be taken literally; the sense is rather that all these are latent in him, who is omniform or protean, i. e. as in VS. XIII. 41, where the Solar embryo (i. e. ab intra, "at night," see ŚB. 3. 1. 3 cited in section 8) is called "the omniform likeness of a thousand" (*sahasrasya pratimāṁ viśvarūpam*), the manifested Sun being accordingly "thousand-footed" (*sahasrapad*, VIII. 69. 16).

officiant himself, there should be so much stress laid on the putting together again of the two ends, for example, the ends of the Year or beginning and end of the Sāman, which ends are divided in the worlds, as Heaven from Earth, or Sun from Moon. In this connection the ritual texts are of the highest interest both with respect to the doctrine involved and also, what amounts to the same thing, as affording an intelligible and authoritative explanation of the meaning of symbols and the content of traditional arts.

In AB. III. 43, for example, we find: "The Agniṣṭoma is (outwardly a rite, but) metaphysically Agni. . . . Again, in that they praised him as the Head (*mūrdhnaṁ santam*) and as having become Light (*jyotis*),[45] the Agniṣṭoma being the praise of light, they

[45] *Mūrdhnaṁ santaṁ jyotir bhūtam*; in agreement with all that has already been cited respecting the transformation of the serpent's head into the Sun or Heaven, and more exactly with RV. X. 88. 6 "At night Agni is the Head of being (*mūrdhā bhuvo bhavati naktam agniḥ*), thence in the morning he is born as the rising Sun" (*tataḥ sūryo jāyate prātar udyan*); which text also makes it clear that the so-called Brāhmaṇa doctrine, which is also Sāyaṇa's (on I. 103. 1), viz. that at night the Sun enters into Agni, is not a new one. Cf. also X. 8. 6 "to Heaven thou (Agni) liftest up thy radiant Head."

These doctrines about the "Head" are paralleled in Gnostic formulations, cf. the Syriac Valentinian hymn included in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, verse 5, reading "From the Head he proclaimed tidings about the Father," as to which W. R. Newbold (JAOS. 38. 15) remarks "The 'Head' is the first emanation of the Abyss, usually called Νοῦς or Μονογενής, but often Πατήρ or Ἀρχή. . . . It was 'from the Head' that the Light proclaimed tidings, for being himself an emanation of Νοῦς, who alone knew the Father, he derived from him all that he proclaimed to the Aeons." In the same way the subdivision of the One, which we have recognized to be the sacrificial act of creation—self-sacrificial in that He lends himself to this division, a suffered passion in that it is by "man" that He is mentally outstretched on the Procrustean bed of time and space in cosmic crucifixion—is also Gnostic doctrine, e. g. in the "Untitled Apocalypse" (Bruce Codex), "He it is whose limbs (or members) make many a myriad of myriad of powers, each of which comes from Him." The gnostic character of the Indian doctrine of Sacrifice was remarked upon by Eggeling in SBE. XLIII. xvii. That the teachings of Plotinus are hardly distinguishable from those of the Upaniṣads has often been recognized. The latter problem has too often been discussed (e. g. by Keith, in *Indian Culture*, II. 135 ff.) as though the only alternatives were those of borrowing or of independent origination. It is not thus, however, that the similarities, often amounting to identity in the scriptures of widely separated cultures, are envisaged by those who speak of

call it Jyotiṣṭoma, or 'Light-laud' metaphysically. . . . This is the sacrificial pattern (*yajñakratuḥ*) without beginning or end (*apūrvo anaparaḥ*, cf. Dante's *nè prima nè poscia, Paradiso*, XXIX, 20); the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot wheel, endless (*ananta*),[46] as is its coming forth so is its onward course (*yatheva prāyaṇaṁ yathodayanam*). As to this a sacrificial verse (*yajñagāthā*) is sung:[47] 'That which is its beginning is also its end (*yad asya pūrvam aparaṁ tad asya*), that again which is its end is also its beginning';[48] like the gliding of a serpent (*aher iva sarpaṇam*) is that of the Śākala,[49] they do not discriminate which of the two

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the "Ancient Wisdom"—an expression which, however it may have been abused, is far from meaningless. The true explanation is to be found in the integrity of what has been called "the universal and unanimous tradition": "Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistessprache" (Jeremias, *Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Vorwort); "Eine grosse Weltlinie der Metaphysik zieht sich durch aller Völker hindurch" (Sauter, in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, Oct. 1934, p. 9). Even apart from any comparisons of wordings, this should be self-evident to every student of the history of symbols; visual symbols being essentially the language of metaphysics, as words are of philosophy.

[46] Cf. RV. V. 58. 5 and VIII. 20. 14, "spokes where none is last in order."

[47] The source of this *gāthā* is unknown, but Sāyaṇa says "it is chanted everywhere."

[48] Cf. Boethius, *de Cons.* I, prose 6, "Is it possible that you who know the beginning of all things (Skr. *jātavidyā*) should not also know their end"; similar St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 103. 2c; Eckhart, I. 224 (Evans ed.) "*In principio* (Skt. *agre*) signifies, in the beginning of all things. It also means the end of all things, since the first beginning is because of the last end. . . . What is the last end? It is the mystery of the darkness of the eternal Godhead which is unknown (Skr. *anirukta*, etc.) and never has been known and never shall be known"; Jeremias, *Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1930, p. 4, "Der Abendländer denkt linienhaft in die Ferne, darum mechanisch, areligios, faustisch. . . . Das Morgenland und die Bibel (and might have been added, the Edda) denken nicht linienhaft, sondern zeitraumlich, spiralisch, kreislaufig. Das Weltgeschehen geht in Spiralen, die sich bis in die Vollendung fortsetzen. . . . Das grossartige Symbol der Schlange, die sich in den eigenen Schwanz beisst, stelt den Äeon dar." The circumference of a circle is at the same time "endless," and wholly constituted of coincident beginnings and ends.

[49] Sāyaṇa says that Śākala is a "name of Ahi." That is hardly, as Keith calls it, "absurd"; it is none the less likely enough that *śakala* also designated a particular "serpentine" ritual, of such a sort for

(ends) is anterior" (*na vi jānanti yatarat parastāt*, cf. Dante's *senza distinzion nell' esordire, Paradiso*, XXIX, 30).

In JUB. I. 35 "The Year is in the Sāman. . . . The Year is endless (*ananta*), its two ends (*antau*) are Winter and Spring; after (*anu*) this it is that the two ends of a village are united, after this that the two ends of a necklet meet, after this that the Serpent lies wrapping round about his coils (*etad anv ahir bhogān paryāhṛtya śaye*), truly like a necklace laid end to end about (*samantam . . . abhiparyakta*) the neck, so is the Endless Chant" (*anantaṁ sāma*). In JUB. I. 2, again, it is prescribed that the Gāyatra Sāman should be sung "according to the course of the Gale and the Waters" (*vāyoś ca apāñ cānu vartma geyam*), which course is, with respect to the Gale, "from all quarters together, winding itself in so as to generate a whirlwind" (*reṣmānañ janamāno niveṣṭamānaḥ*), and as to the Waters, "making bends, winding themselves in, flowing in eddies" (*aṅkāṅsi kurvāṇā niveṣṭamānā āvartān*[50] *sṛjamānāḥ*), and with respect to both, in this way at the same time fontal and inflowing (cf. TS. III. 2. 2, verses), "not straight away (*parāñ*), lest there be a loss" (*kṣayād eva bibhyāt*, cf. RV. VIII. 7. 16, *utsaṁ duhanto akṣitam*). Similarly in AB. V. 2, "they proceed in sets of three days without a break (*saṁtatais tryahair avyavachinnair yanti*), and ib. III. 44, where it is laid down that the Agniṣṭoma should be celebrated "without haste," and in accordance with motion of the Sun "who never really sets nor rises" (*nā kadācanāstam eti nodeti*), but only "inverts himself" (*viparyasyate*, cf. PB. VII. 10. 3, and *ā vavṛtsva* in RV. IV. 1. 2), "indeed he never sets" (*na ha vai nimrocati*),[51]

example as the Pṛṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha described in AB. V. 22, where the Serpent Queen is lauded.

[50] Cf. RV. X. 30. 10, *āvarvṛtatīḥ . . . dvidhārāḥ*; JUB. III. 33, where when "breath turns resounding up and up" (*prāṇas svarya upary upari vartate*) this is called the "re-turn of the spiritual power" (*brahmaṇa āvartaḥ*); and the value attached to "auspicious curls" (*nandyāvarta*, etc.) in the later iconography.

[51] Echoed in ChU. III. 11. 3 "He indeed neither rises not sets, and for him that understandeth this, it is evermore high noon, such is the interpretation" (*na ha vā asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā haivāsmai bhavati, ya etām evaṁ brahmōpaniṣadaṁ veda*, where *nimlocati* replaces the Brāhmaṇa *nimrocati*, in accordance with a familiar change (cf. *jaṭhara and jaṭhala* in RV.) and there is no necessity either for Böhtlingk's emendation *nimumloca*, or for Hume's designation of *na*

and "he who comprehendeth this (*ya evaṁ veda*) attains to conjunction, likeness, and same-worldness with Him" (*sāyujyaṁ sārūpatāṁ salokyatām*). In RV. I. 115. 5 the shining of the Sun, although alternately radiant or dark, is called "endless" (*ananta*).

The endless continuity of the divine act of being is emphasized, indeed, throughout RV. For example, I. 164. 51, "One and the same does this Water rise and fall as day succeeds day" (*samānam etad udakam uc caity ava cāhabhiḥ*); I. 123. 8, the Dawns, "Each like other, today, tomorrow, following Varuṇa's lengthy pathway" (*sadṛśir adya sadṛśir . . . śvo dīrghaṁ sacante varuṇasya dhāma . . . triṁśatam yojanāni*, the *triṁśad dhāma* of X. 189. 3, all day and night); I. 124. 3 "straight she followeth the cosmic path" (*ṛtasya panthām anv eti sādhu*); I. 160. 1, where the Sun "proceeds by Law" (*īyate dharmaṇā*, cf. in IV. 18. 1 "the ancient pathway found of old," and the survival of the same conception and almost the same phrasing in the Buddhist account of the Nativity, D. XIV. 1. 21 f. where in connection with every detail it is repeated, *ayam ettha dhammatā*); IV. 18. 6, where the Rivers of Life "flow cosmic-orderly" (*arṣanti ṛtavarī*) and IV. 19. 7 where these young maidens are "cognizant of Order" (*ṛtajñāḥ*, i. e. foreknow their way).[52] In I. 113. 3 the paths of Day and Night are "endless (*adhvā anantaḥ*); in V. 47. 2 the motion of Heaven and Earth is on "paths without end" (*anantāsaḥ . . . panthāḥ*); in AV. X. 7. 42 the tissue woven by Day and Night "shall never undo nor come to an end" (*nāpa vṛṇjāte na gamāto antam*, cf. Dante's "such a withy as shall never be unwithied," *Paradiso*, XXIX. 36). This is all summed up in the beautiful verses of TS. III. 2. 2. RV. affirms with no uncertain voice, but

nimloca(ti) as "impossible" (*Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 207). *Nimlocan* (*jaghanārddhaḥ*) occurs in the sense of "West" in BU. I. 1. 1, *nimlocanī* in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with reference to Varuṇa's Western Paradise.

[52] Plotinus offers a striking parallel to the Vedic concept of the Fountain of Life (*utsa*, etc.) with its inexhaustible ever-flowing streams of living water or milk (*utsaṁ duhanto akṣitam*, VIII. 7. 16, *avatam akṣitam*, VIII. 72. 10): "Imagine a spring that has no source outside itself; it gives itself to all the rivers, yet is never exhausted by what they take, but remains always integrally as it was; the tides that proceed from it are at one within it before they run their several ways, yet all, in some sense, know beforehand down what channels they will pour their streams" (*Enneads*, III. 8. 10).

rather with Hers who in X. 125. 5 "utters what is most felicitous alike to Angels and to men": *Sicut erat in principio, est nunc et semper erit, in saecula saeculorum.*

10. The trace of "endlessness" in art

In connection with JUB. I. 35, cited above, we have pointed out elsewhere in what manner such a passage illustrates the concept of art as an imitation of heavenly "forms," as enunciated for example in AB. VI. 27. We have also repeatedly shown, and once more above in section 6 in connection with the *ūrṇā*, that the symbolism and iconography of Indian art can almost always be referred to Vedic formulations, and that apart from these sources, the symbolism and iconography cannot be explained, but only described. Some further illustrations of this may be given in connection with the concept of endlessness discussed above. If the Vedic chant was in fact of such a sort as the Brāhmaṇas indicate, we might well expect to find some traces of a similar quality in the Indian music of much later periods. Indian music is in fact of a kind that has been preserved in Europe only in connection with the Gregorian chant, which in its turn represents a "style" of great antiquity, and may have Babylonian sources (Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, 1929, p. 9). We find in fact that European auditors have repeatedly remarked upon the unbroken sequences and absence of crisis and finale in Indian music: for example, Keyserling, *Travel Diary*, III. 30, "It is not easy to explain in words what Indian music means . . . no beginning, no end; it is the undulation and the sway of the eternally flowing stream of life," and Fox-Strangways, *Music of Hindustan*, p. 2, "We do not know what to make of music which is dilatory without being sentimental, and utters passion without vehemence." Not long ago an American child of five, hearing phonograph records of Indian music, remarked in my hearing "That kind of music goes round and round, this way and that way and then comes back." These are precisely those formal qualities which are ascribed by the Brāhmaṇas to the Vedic *sāman*.

If again the *philosophia perennis* has come down to us in "spiralisch" terms, such as are so often employed in connection with the eddyings of inexhaustible waters, the possibilities of being, stirred into life by the dawn winds of creation and the light of the

risen Sun, it may well be assumed that spirals and maeanders wherever they occur in primitive art, that is to say in the ideological art of a time when man was thinking in far more abstract terms than any to which we are now accustomed, are the signs and symbols of these waters. Notions of endlessness, eternity, recurrence, surely underlie not only the well-known symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, and in this sense "endless," but also all those Indian or other ancient motifs of interlacing serpent and dragon forms in which beginnings and ends are confused, and those well-known designs of "strapwork" and "knots" of which the component bands have neither beginning nor end.[53]

11. Conclusion

It has, we think, been shown beyond all question that the Father and the Son, Dragon and Solar Hero, although in outward opposition, are secretly at one, are one and consubstantial. What must be regarded from without and logically as a dual operation of alternate sleep and waking, potentiality and act, is inwardly and really the mere and simple nature of the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam, sadasat*). This Identity, being of conjoint principles, the same equations hold when the problem is approached on the feminine side, as has been done in *The Darker Side of Dawn.* In the course of the analysis it has been brought out that neither the Vedic ontology nor the formulae in which it is communicated are peculiar to RV., but can as well be recognized in all the extra-

[53] In Chinese art the *tao t'ieh* motif which whether with or without buffalo horns seems to represent a jawless dragon's head (e. g. *Eumorfopolos Cat.* I, Pl. XX, A, 26); we find examples of the dragon biting its own tail (*Relics of Han and pre-Han Dynasties*, Tokyo, 1932, Pl. LXI, fig. 4, and Pelliot, *Judes Archaïques de Chine*, 1925, Pl. XVII), or chains of dragons similarly disposed (*Eumorfopolos Cat.* I, Pl. LI, A, 72); and if the dragon form is again and again represented against a background of spirals or maeanders, what else can these maeanders represent but the watery abode of these sons of the mist?

On Chinese dragons see also de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, 1913; Werner, *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, 1932, s. v. *lung*; Mackenzie, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1928, where should be noted also, in connection with what has been said above regarding Pharaoh, numerous Egyptian representations of serpents beleaguering waters. On spirals and dragons see again Mackenzie, and for the importance of the spiral problem in art, cf. Cook, *The Curves of Life*, 1914.

Indian forms of the "universal and unanimous tradition." At the same time, the consistency and continuity of the tradition transmitted in Indian literature and art has been suggested; the tradition is expanded rather than deformed in the Epics, Purāṇas, and Tantras; the name "Vyāsa," that of the "author" of the Mbh. denoting indeed not "Compiler," but "Expander," *vyāsatas* signifying "in great detail," "with prolixity," or "diffusely." In the matter of iconography, more could have been said as to the meaning of the Nāga types in Indian and other arts, but this can be readily deduced by the reader for himself; the well-known motif of paired and interlacing Nāgas (as seen on Nāgakals and at Koṇārak) representing, for example, the co-habitation of the conjoint principles ab intra; that of the enmity of Phoenix (*garuḍa*) and Nāga reflecting the outward opposition of the separated principles.[54] Indications have been given of the significance of certain well recognized characteristics of Indian music, of the use of spiral forms in "ornament," and of the *ūrṇā* as a *lakṣaṇa* of the Mahāpuruṣa; in the latter connection it may be observed that while the Mahāpuruṣa, as the Supernal Sun, thus appropriately wears the solar image on his brow, Śiva, who is the power ab intra, as is also indicated by his *nāga*-ornaments, wears the Moon.

[54] In this connection attention may be called to the well-known Etruscan painting in the Grotta dell' Orco (fourth century B. C.) depicting a winged "demon" with a serpent, or to speak in Indian terms, a Garuḍa and Nāga. In this representation, reproduced and discussed by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. IV, pp. 188-190, not only are there to be seen two serpent heads rising from the bird-like head of the winged "Phoenix," but as remarked by Evans, the pattern of the wings displays "the same 'wave and dot' pattern as the adders of the Minoan (snake-) Goddess, and clearly represent a similar viperine breed." The ophidian source of the solar power, who at the same time brandishes the Serpent as immediate "Avenger," could not have been more clearly indicated in art. The two serpents heads recalled the *pṛdāku-sānu* form of Indra represented in the well-known Mathurā image discussed in *The Darker Side of Dawn*, note 25 (we have called attention above to the equivalence of *sānu* and *śira*). Sir Arthur Evans assumes an ultimately western Asiatic origin of the form.

THE HORSES OF T'ANG T'AI TSUNG AND THE STELE OF YU

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SINCE THE publication in 1918 by Mr. C. W. Bishop of the stone reliefs of the famous horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, and in particular of the two which came to the University Museum in Philadelphia[1] at that time, a great deal of additional information has been gathered about them and some of the related monuments. But there have also arisen certain doubts about these horses and certain misconceptions and false inferences have been drawn. In view of the confusion that seems to exist in regard both to the horses and to various documents relating to them, I feel that the time has come to make a few definite and clear statements as to what we know and what we do not know about these horses.

There are four questions which I shall attempt to answer briefly in this paper:

1. Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals made for T'ang T'ai Tsung in 637, or the copies said to have been made by Yu Shih-hsiung in 1089?
2. Do the so-called "large rubbings" prove the existence of the copies?
3. Is there conclusive evidence for the existence of a set of horse tablets in miniature?
4. What is the Stele of Yu and what evidence does it present in regard to these questions?

It would seem hardly necessary to answer the first question, "Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals," were it not that the question continues to be asked and a statement is therefore in order. Yes, they are the originals. That can be proved by comparing them with the photographs taken by Chavannes about 1909 when he visited the Chao Ling, which was the royal burial ground of T'ai Tsung up in the mountains five

[1] See Bishop, *The Museum Journal*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3 and 4, Sept.-Dec., 1918.

miles north of the town of Li Ch'üan. These photographs were later published in "Mission Archéologique," unfortunately without text, but with captions under the pictures stating that they were taken in the Chao Ling, and indeed the general view of the site shows that it was up in the mountains.[2]

The fact which settles the question of the two reliefs now in the University Museum is that they show the same injuries and breaks as those photographed by Chavannes in situ. In Chavannes's photograph of the horse "Curly" (Fig. 1) note the great diagonal cracks clear across the tablet and especially the ragged breaks of the raised forelegs and of both hind legs. The tablet in the Museum shows precisely the same breaks and injuries (Fig. 2). The Museum photographer has thrown a strong oblique light upon it which makes the relief seem higher and brings out mutilated portions in greater prominence than does the diffuse outdoor light of Chavannes's picture.[3] Nevertheless a careful comparison will show that the two photographs are of the same sculpture. Likewise, notice the tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew," or "Sudden Dew," as the name is literally (Fig. 3). This is Chavannes's picture taken at the Chao Ling. The injuries to the legs and to the General's right arm enable us to identify without question the relief in the Museum (Fig. 4), which shows the identical breaks, besides, I grieve to say, a few additional ones which it has suffered since 1909. It is possible to copy sculpture exactly, but it is not possible to make it break in the same way as the original. The reliefs in the University Museum are therefore the original sculptures from the Chao Ling.

Now as to the second point. There are in existence authentic rubbings which have been taken from these sculptures, but there is also a series of large so-called "rubbings"[4] which, though they agree in size and general appearance with the original stones, yet show certain differences. On the original tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew" (Fig. 4) both horse and man are in profile. All four feet of the horse rest upon the ground line. The man's face is practically in outline. Note the pose of his head on his shoulders;

[2] See *Mission Archéologique*, Pl. CCLVII, No. 438.

[3] Chavannes's photograph, moreover, appears to have been slightly retouched where the legs are broken.

[4] See Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, Figs. 1-6.

the nearly straight line of his belt. And there are the breaks in the tablet. In this so-called "rubbing" (Fig. 5) no breaks are evident and the whole picture is distorted. The horse stands almost at a three-quarter angle, with its hind hoofs out of line above the ground. The General's belt is curved and tips up behind, his head is turned half way toward the front and is set upon his shoulders quite differently from the head of the figure on the tablet. Certain scholars have thought this distortion was due to an attempt to take a rubbing from a high relief. This would distort some details, but should not disturb the relative positions of the main features. For instance, it could not turn a horse or a man's head partly around. Others have assumed, again, that these differences were due to the fact that the "rubbings" were supposedly taken from copies of the tablets which Governor Yu Shih-hsiung in his inscription of 1089 says he had made for T'ang T'ai Tsung's Miao,[5] or memorial temple, at the West gate of Li Ch'üan, and which were to save sight-seers a trip to the Chao Ling. These authorities have been convinced that these "rubbings" prove the existence of Yu's copies. Unfortunately they do not prove anything. They are not even rubbings. They never saw a stone. Two methods of manufacture appear to have been used, both employing stencils for the various parts. The technique in the one case is a perfectly familiar one; I have often used it in making biological charts. There is a stencil for each detail, body, head, legs, saddle, etc. The operator lays one on the paper at the desired angle and blows ink over it with an atomizer. Then he arranges the next stencil, and so on. An expert does not even need the stencil—pieces of paper with the desired curve of the edge will protect the part which is not to be shaded and give a sharp edge. The softest effects of shading may be obtained by this method. The other method is a sort of printing within the stencil by means of an inked pad and in this case the textile imprint is evident. The rubbings which I have examined show that an outline of the whole horse was first drawn in pencil as a guide to laying on the stencils. Placing of the framework varied. Details were touched up with a brush. In other words, these pictures are simply made up,—not out of "whole cloth," I admit, because the purpose of making them was to sell "representations" of well-known works of antiquity. As accurate docu-

[5] See Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 64.

ments, however, these so-called "rubbings" are worthless and prove nothing. They certainly do not prove that Yu's copies exist, or ever existed. The distortions are due to the method used, and to the carelessness of the man who blew the atomizer or placed the stencil.

It has hitherto been assumed that Yu's copies were made in stone like the originals. But Yu does not say that this was the case. He says only that the copies he ordered were to be *chên su* (眞塑), accurate, or "true models," and the character used for models, *su* (塑) means primarily to *model in clay*. If copies were actually made, it is possible that they were not of stone but of some more perishable material. So far as we have learned, there are no records to show that anyone ever saw these copies. Only an examination of the site will reveal whether or not they were ever made.

The chief document in regard to the stone horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, aside from the great tablets themselves, is the stele set up by Yu Shih-hsiung, Governor of Li Ch'üan in the last half of the 11th century. Rubbings of the inscription on his stele are known and the inscription is quoted in all the local gazetteers of the region. It was apparently from the printed quotation in one of the gazetteers that Mr. Waley made his discovery that the figure of a man standing in front of "Autumn Dew" represented the famous T'ang General Ch'iu Hsing-kung.[6] And it was from the gazetteer of Li Ch'üan Hsien that Dr. Ferguson got the text of Yu's inscription which he published and translated in *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, thus making a great contribution to the knowledge of these sculptures. It would seem almost too obvious to suggest that this inscription comes from the top of the stele which bore the outline pictures of the horses, a rubbing of which was illustrated in Bushell's *Chinese Art* (Vol. I, fig. 18). It showed only the horses and Bushell apparently thought it a stele of the T'ang period. But the Li Ch'üan Hsien Chih, after quoting Yu's inscription, adds a note which reads, "Below are the pictures and the eulogies." I therefore concluded that Yu's inscription belonged at the top of Dr. Bushell's rubbing and I began to search for a rubbing which would include both. With the kind aid of Mr. C. T. Loo a rubbing of the nearly complete stele was found. So far as I know, no one

[6] Waley in *Burlington Magazine*, September, 1923.

has hitherto actually stated that the inscription and the horses are from one and the same stele. Therefore I now present the more complete picture (Fig. 7), which is important for my next point.

This inscription of Yu Shih-hsiung's, as has been shown by Dr. Ferguson, speaks of *three monuments* or *sets of monuments* to the memory of the horses. First, there were the great reliefs in stone, tablets 5 feet x 6, which T'ai Tsung had had made and set up at the Chao Ling 450 years before Yu's time. Second, Yu had ordered models of these to be made which were to be exact copies, and these were for T'ai Tsung's Miao at the west gate of the town. Third, there was another undertaking of Yu's which has been interpreted as a third set of tablets, only in miniature, with drawings of the horses engraved on them, and these were to be put in the same Miao on the walls of the Wu, the Wu being lateral shelters, or covered walks, at the sides of one of the courtyards.

Let us examine the evidence for such a set of tablets in miniature. First there are the often cited "small rubbings" of the horses, of which a set was loaned me by Miss Bragg, Director of the Berkshire Museum, and of which Figure 6 is one. These average ten inches in height and there is no border to indicate the edge of a tablet. But, sad to relate, these little pictures are made by the same methods as the full-size ones.[7] There is even a third method used, that of printing with wood blocks. Therefore, they too are false rubbings and, as proof of anything, are worthless. Again we may assume, however, that something well known is represented by them. They may be merely reductions of the large set to a more convenient and less expensive size. I think it more likely, however, though I cannot yet prove it, that this small set had its origin in the outline drawings of the horses on the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung which we have just examined. Chang Ch'ao, who visited the Chao Ling and T'ai Tsung's Miao in 1611, records that he found the *Six Horse Pictures Stele* in the Miao and said that the horses engraved on it were about seven inches high, which in Chinese measure of that time would equal about ten inches of our modern measure. This, and the fact that as a rule no tablet edge is indicated, lead me to believe that this small set *may* have been inspired by the pictures on the stele. But since these are not rubbings at all, they cannot be accepted as documents.

[7] Miss Bragg wrote me of the technique, having arrived at the same conclusions I had reached in regard to the method used.

Secondly, does the text of Yu Shih-hsiung's inscription necessarily imply that he had a set of horse tablets made in miniature? Mr. Waley, in his article in the *Burlington Magazine*, tells of the modeled copies and continues, "In the same place he (Yu) set up *incised slabs* representing the design of the reliefs." Evidently

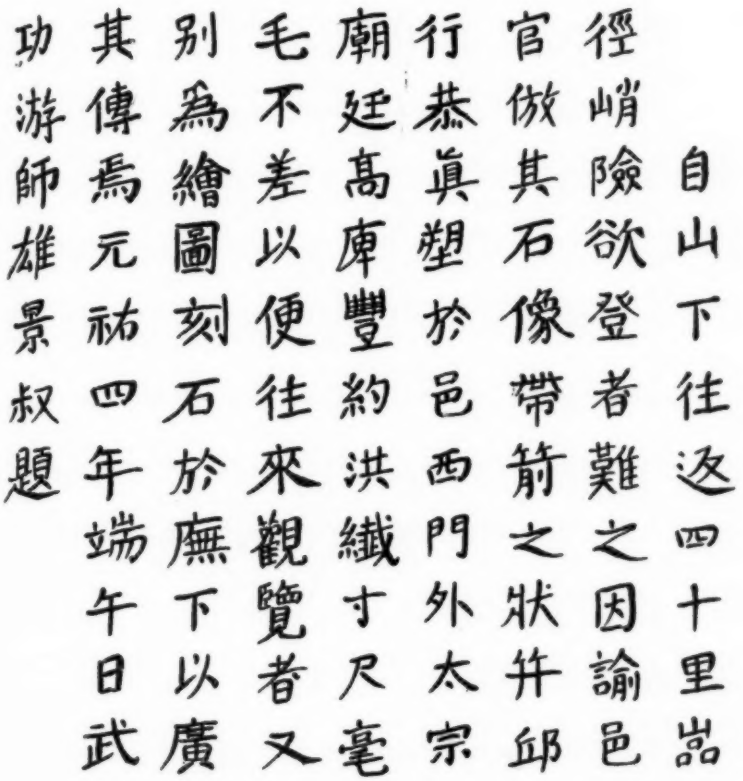

Fig. 8a. Portion of the text of the Inscription on Yu's Stele.

Mr. Waley interpreted the text as meaning another set of tablets, though he does not say they were in miniature. Dr. Ferguson's actual translation, "stone engravings of these figures shall also be placed in the covered passageways"[8] does not commit him to the theory of tablets, but he proceeds, seemingly misled by the set of

[8] Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 64.

"small rubbings," to conclude that it means a set of stone tablets of the horses in miniature.

Let us look at that portion of the text of Yu's inscription which relates to this matter. (Fig. 8, 16th to 22nd lines inclusive, and text Fig. 8a.) Yu tells us that he had copies of the Chao Ling tablets *accurately modeled* for the audience hall of T'ai Tsung's Miao. The dimensions of the tablets, the delicacy of execution, nothing should *differ by an atom or a hair's breadth* (from the originals). This would *make it convenient for the going-and-coming-to-see-worthy-ones.* 又 *ALSO* | 別 *ANOTHER* (or, *OTHERS*) (*pieh*) | 爲 *TO BE MADE* (or, *WHICH WERE*) | 繪 *DRAWN-IN-OUTLINE* | 圖 *PICTURES* | 刻 *CUT* (or, *ENGRAVED*) | 石 on STONE | 於 PUT IN | 廡 THE CLOISTERS (*wu*) | 下 UNDER (the roof) | 以 IN ORDER TO | 廣 SPREAD WIDELY (the fame) | 其 of THOSE | 傳 HANDED-DOWN (things). The solution hinges on what Yu, the author of the inscription, meant by *pieh*. Another? Other? Other what? Other slabs? Another what? Another monument to the fame of the horses? Another set of horses? *Pieh*, which by itself means merely *another* or *others*, doubtless refers back in this case to the character *su* (copies), and should therefore be translated OTHER COPIES (of the horses). A free translation of the above passage should read as follows: "I also had other (copies) made, outline pictures (which were then) engraved on stone and placed under the cloister (roof), in order to spread widely (the fame) of those (which had been) handed down." With due respect to the authorities mentioned there does not seem to be here proof that there was a set of tablets in miniature, or even a set of tablets. What monument, other than the set of big copies, did Yu have erected at this time? What object had pictures engraved on it which would add to the fame of these horses? Doubtless the stele itself. Below the inscription is another set of the horses, in outline pictures engraved on stone. Moreover, this was set up in T'ai Tsung's Miao, where Chang Ch'ao saw it in 1611, with the Chao Ling Map Stele, erected by Yu four years later, standing opposite it. And so I am inclined to doubt the existence of any third set of tablets, whether in miniature or not, and to consider that the text which has been commonly thought to

refer to them refers rather to the engravings on the stele below the text; that is, to the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung itself.

A note must be added on the drawings of the horses which appear on this stele. It is evident that they have not been drawn by a master. Yu says in his inscription above that he had seen the painting of the horses said to be by the brush of Yen Li-pên. It is possible that we have here a reflection of that painting, for the pictures, although following the designs of the tablets, do not suggest the monumental quality of the slabs of the Chao Ling, but seem to point to a pictorial ancestor. This is, however, supposition. In the lower left corner of the stele may be seen a signature. It reads "Wu Tsung-tao engraved (it)." Wu Tsung-tao was a famous artist who is supposed to have flourished about 1010 and was already a noted painter at that time. He must have been a very old man if he cut these pictures in 1089. Or, the evidence of this tablet may prove to be earlier and more reliable than sources which have been used hitherto in dating this artist. But that is another problem.

Finally, may I call attention to two points in regard to the great tablets of the horses. First, they were certainly not in their original positions when Chavannes photographed them. Their positions in 1089 are definitely established by the labels on Yu's stele. "Autumn Dew," "Curly" and "White-Footed Crow" were then all on the west side. When Chavannes saw them they were on the east and the *other three* were on the west.[9] In addition, "Blue Piebald" and "Shih-Destroying-Red" had changed places. Additional evidence that they were not in original position when Chavannes saw them is the fact that the left end of the slab picturing "Autumn Dew" was pushed up against the corner of the brick building so that it was completely hidden and covered by the wall (Fig. 3). It is to this fact, however, that we owe the preservation of a beautiful and typical T'ang design in flat relief, which ornaments that end of the slab (Fig. 9a). The presence of such a design means that this end of the tablet was intended to be seen and that, therefore, the tablet must originally have been placed in a different position, so that it would show. The narrow design (Fig. 9b) is from the face of the tablet in the lower left corner and is the only remaining portion of a delicate pattern in flat relief which decorated the raised border around the horse.

[9] See *Mission Archéologique*, Pl. CCLVII, No. 439.

The second point, which I hope to enlarge upon some other time, is that originally the tablets were almost certainly painted. When I first began to study them about ten years ago, there were then definite traces of paint on the two in the museum, and I have some evidence which suggests that the poems composed by Tai Tsung were put on the squares intended for them—put on in paint, over characters cut in as low relief as this delicate border design.

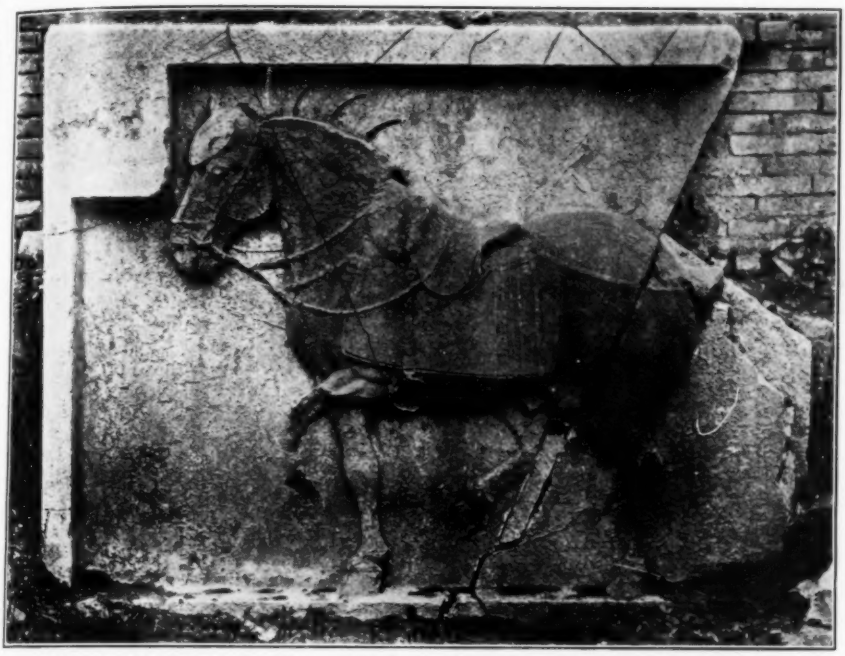

Fig. 1. Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as found by M. Chavannes in situ in the Chao Ling.

Fig. 2. The Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as it appears now in the University Museum.

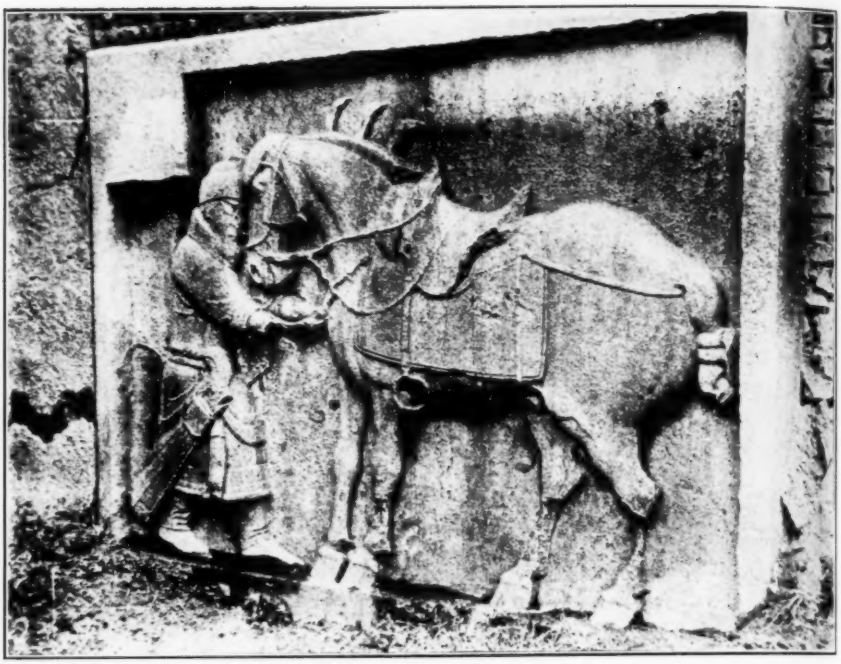

Fig. 3. Tablet of the Horse "Autumn Dew" as found by M. Chavannes in situ in Chao Ling.

Fig. 4. The Tablet of the Horse "Autumn Dew" as it appears now in the University Museum.

Fig. 5. So-called "large rubbing" of the Horse "Autumn Dew," with the General Ch'iu Hsing-kung.

From Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, vol. III.

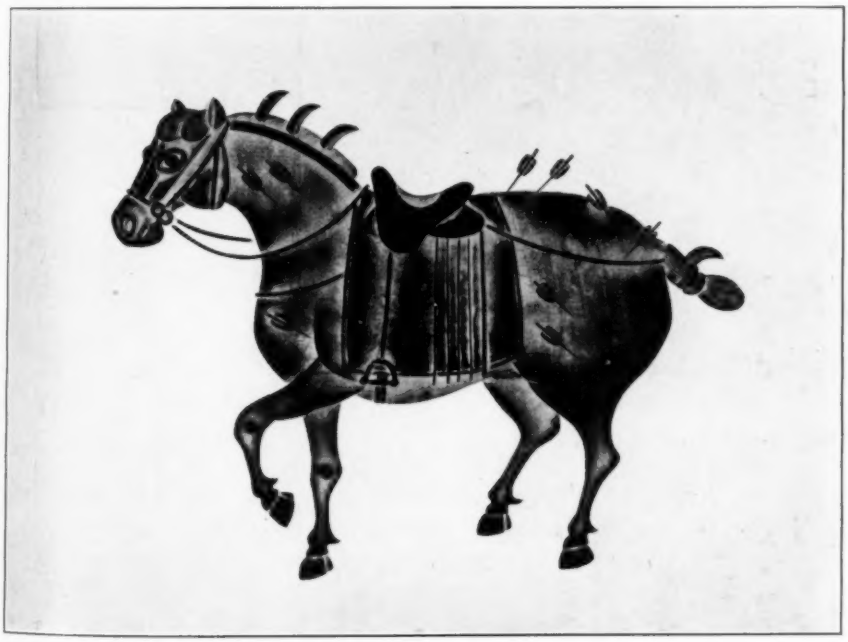

Fig. 6. So-called "small-rubbing" of the Horse "Curly."

From an original owned by Miss Bragg.

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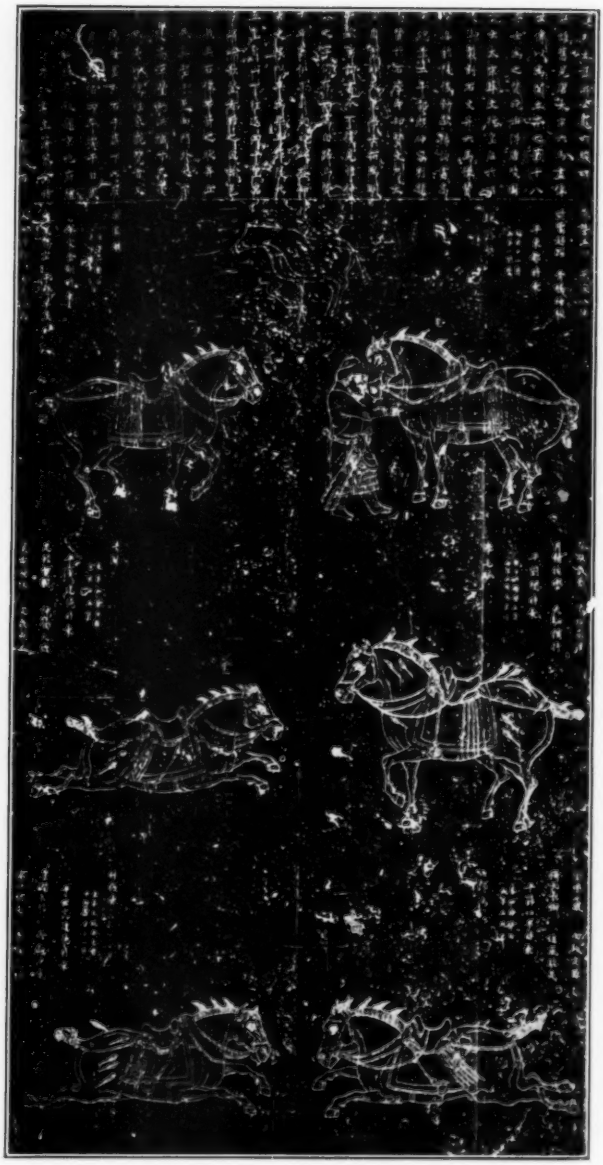

Fig. 7. The Stele of Yu Shih-hsiung. From a Rubbing showing the Engravings of the Horses with the long inscription above them.

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Fig. 8. A Detail of the Stele of Yu containing that part of the Inscription relating to the pictures incised on stone.

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Fig. 9.

a. Rubbing (intensified) of the low relief remaining on the left end of the stone slab of "Autumn Dew."

b. Rubbing (intensified) of the border design on the frame of "Autumn Dew," trace of which remains in lower left corner of the slab.

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NEW NUZI TEXTS AND A NEW METHOD OF COPYING CUNEIFORM TABLETS

E. R. LACHEMAN
AUBURN, R. I.

(with 6 plates)

WHEN DR. S. N. KRAMER was preparing the publication of the *Sumerian Hymns and Epics*,[1] which the late Dr. Chiera had copied, he asked me to copy the reverse of one tablet, the text of which had been left out. At the suggestion of Professor A. Poebel I used an enlarged photograph of the tablet in question, tracing the signs on it; the photograph was then bleached so that the signs stood out. This gave me the idea of employing the same method in copying the Nuzi tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum as well as the remaining unpublished Nuzi material which the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad had loaned to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The method of "inking photographs" is not new in itself, having been used with marked success in the field of Egyptology; but no one had applied the process, so far as I know, to cuneiform texts. In this field one may speak of various "schools of copyists." While all aim at a faithful reproduction of the signs, the degree of accuracy depends largely on the copyist's drawing ability and on the sharpness of his eye. Moreover, few attempt to show the shape of the tablet and the exact position of the signs, not to speak of cracks and breaks. There have been notable exceptions, but the time and trouble required have caused many to resort to more or less conventionalized copies. They might thus succeed in making the reading easier, but they overlook the important fact that publications of ancient texts should present the material as it actually is.

Photography alone, however, cannot be sufficient. Most tablets are curved and the writing goes over to the reverse, and no photograph, however excellent, can give the whole text at a glance. Composite photographs are often necessary and the prints must be given special treatment.

The method that I have followed consists, briefly, in taking a good photograph of the tablet, making an enlargement of it, tracing

[1] *Oriental Institute Publications* XV.

the signs on the print, and bleaching it until the signs alone remain. My equipment includes a double-extension, 9 by 12 cm. Royal camera, supplied with a double anastigmat, helioplan lense, 1: 4.5, F 13.5 cm., set on a special stand. The tablet is placed on a glass plate resting on two horizontal rods which are about two feet apart and one foot from the ground. A white sheet of carboard is placed on the floor under the plate. In this way the shadows cast by the tablet are carried off the field and a white background is provided for the photograph. The light is at about three feet and at 45 degrees from the upper left-hand corner of the tablet. The angle of the light will depend largely on the curvature of the tablet. In order to give even light to the edges of the tablet adjusted mirrors are used. With a 100 watt bulb, the shutter closed down to F 12.5, on an Eastman Commercial cut film, the average exposure is 35 seconds; more if the tablet is dark and less if it is of a light color.

The photographs are then enlarged to twice the linear size of the tablet. When the cut is made for final reproduction, it is reduced (as in the present instance) to one-half of the photograph, so that the true size of the characters is indicated.[2] When the writing goes over the edge to the reverse, the signs are traced on the photograph of the right edge and on a duplicate of the reverse. and after bleaching each line is cut off separately and glued in place on the obverse.

After the signs have been copied the print is bleached in the potassium iodide-iodine bleacher and fixed in hyposulphite.[3]

The texts discussed below have been reproduced by the above method.[4]

. . . . . .

After the death of Dr. Chiera I undertook to copy the remaining Nuzi tablets discovered during the first campaign, which Dr. Chiera

[2] After two years of experimenting I have found that Gevaert Novabrom No. 1 (dead matte) extra-vigorous paper is best suited for enlarging. It gives very good contrasts and absorbs the ink easily.

[3] I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to P. M. Bardin and H. P. Burtsch, preparators at the Oriental Institute, for their invaluable technical advice.

[4] The photographs of Text No. 4 (see below) were taken by Mr. L. W. Hough, staff photographer of the Oriental Institute, to whom and to Dr. Boyes, Secretary of the Museum, I hereby express my thanks.

had brought with him to Chicago on loan from the Baghdad School.[5] Three of these texts are presented below. The new texts are numbered respectively *JENu* 1023 (1), 921 (2), and 4 (3). While engaged in this task I found a number of undeciphered fragments which I was able, with the aid of the Assyrian Dictionary, to fit on to texts previously copied. As an example of this latter group I have included in the present article a restored text (4) consisting of *JENu* 630 + *JEN* 363 + an unnumbered fragment.

Text 1 is a slavery document concerning two Ḫabiru women from the land of Akkad. "Of their own free will" they enter the house of Tehiptilla. Their (previous) owner, Dûr-Ilishu, is responsible for them. The price set for them is forty shekels (SU).[6] The colophon states that "if the women break the contract and say, 'We are not slavewomen,' they shall pay a certain amount of gold as fine."

Text 2 is a lawsuit between Huite and Naniya, arising from an earlier mortgage (*titennûtu*). Of particular interest is the mention of the *maiaru*-field in an actual context instead of the usual stereotyped clause. Huite is declared winner and awarded the field with its newly planted seeds.

Text 3 concerns the same Huite and deals with a certain field twice mortgaged. The document refers to the same parties as *JEN* 491, and both tablets correspond in shape and share the same scribe.

The measurements of the texts published below are as follows: 1 (unbaked)—98 x 70 x 31 mm. 2 (unbaked)—83 x 65 x 30 mm. 3 (baked)—77 x 62 x 31 mm. 4 (unbaked)—110 x 66 x 33 mm.

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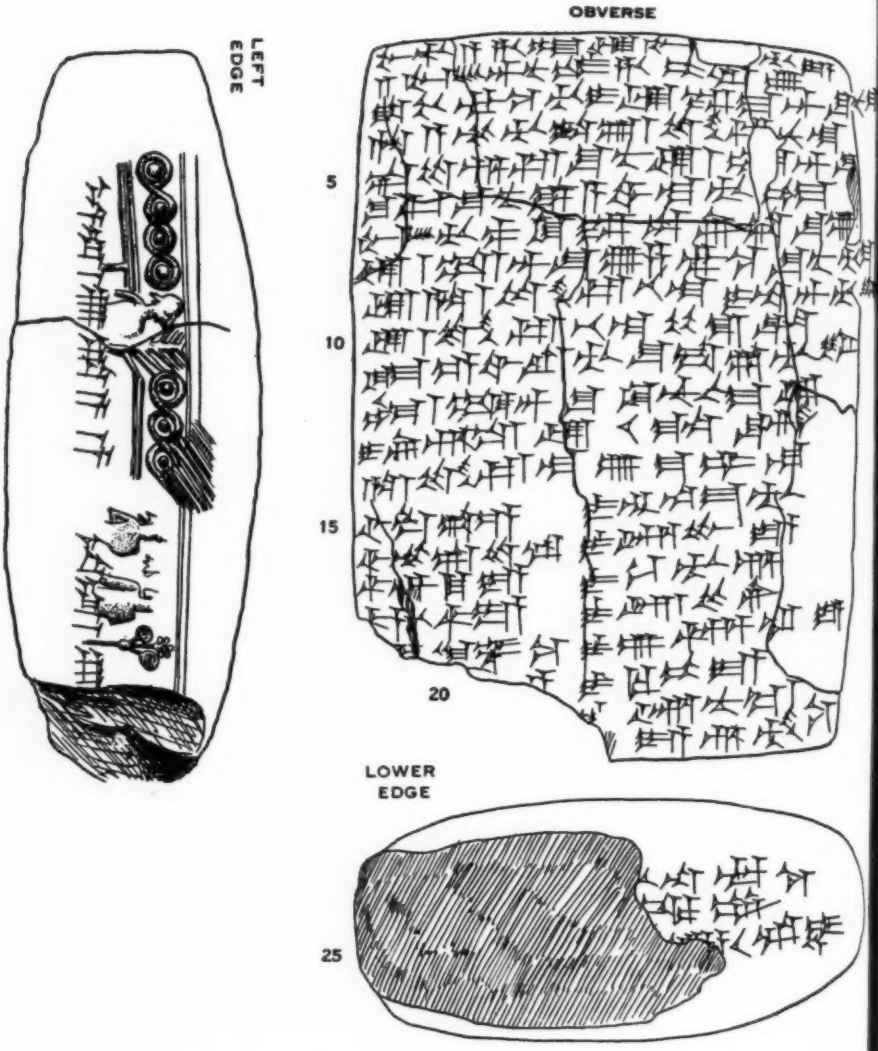
[5] The unpublished texts are cited as *JENu*, those previously published (*Joined Expedition at Nuzi*, vols. I-V) as *JEN*.

[6] Two unpublished tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum give the important equation of *šiqlu* with *SU*.



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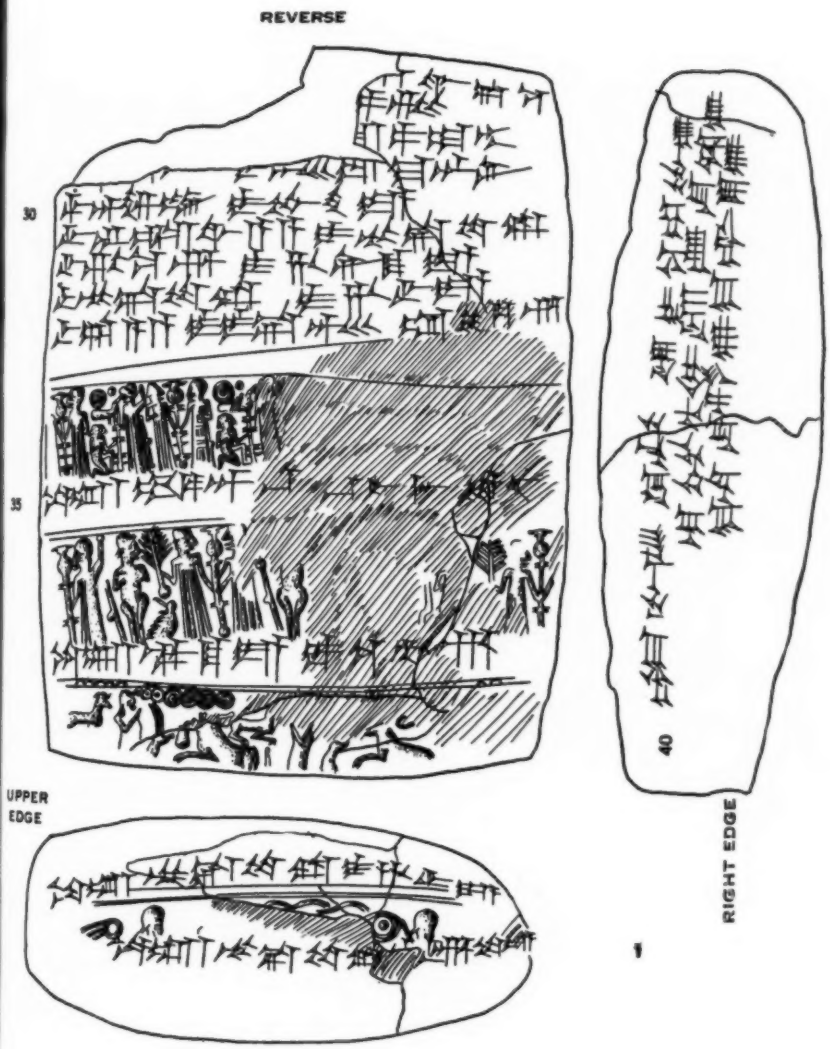

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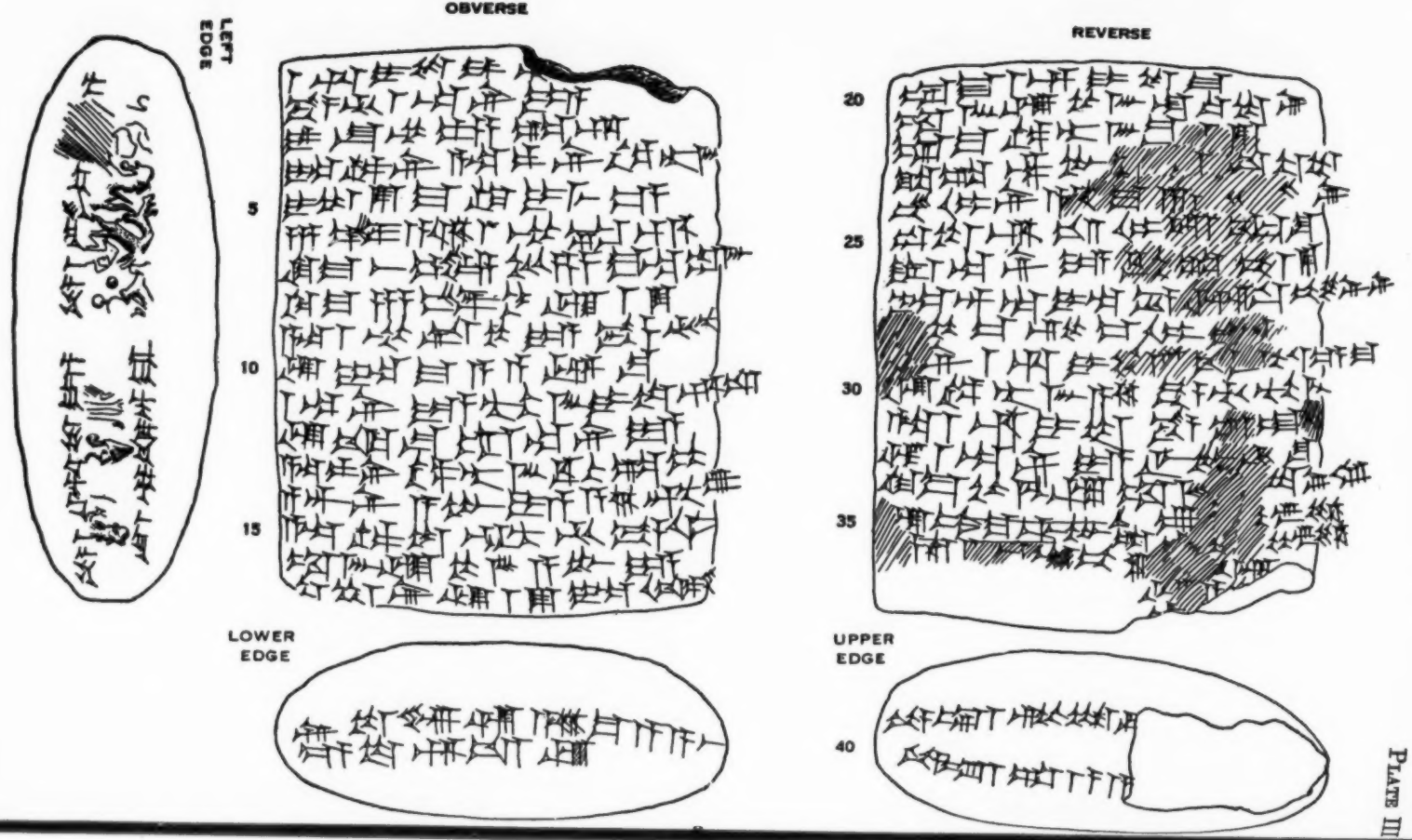
OBVERSE
REVERSE
LEFT EDGE
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5
10
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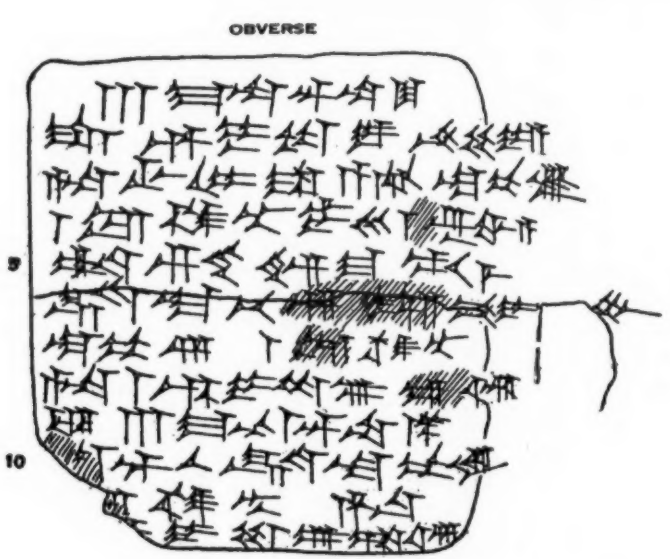
PLATE III



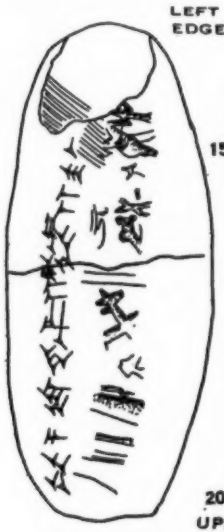


PLATE IV

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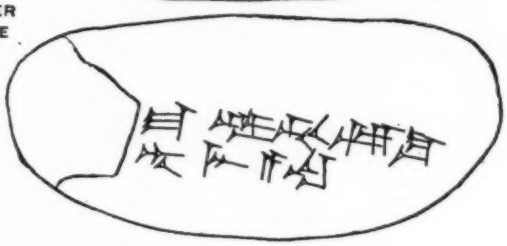
OBVERSE

LOWER EDGE



4.

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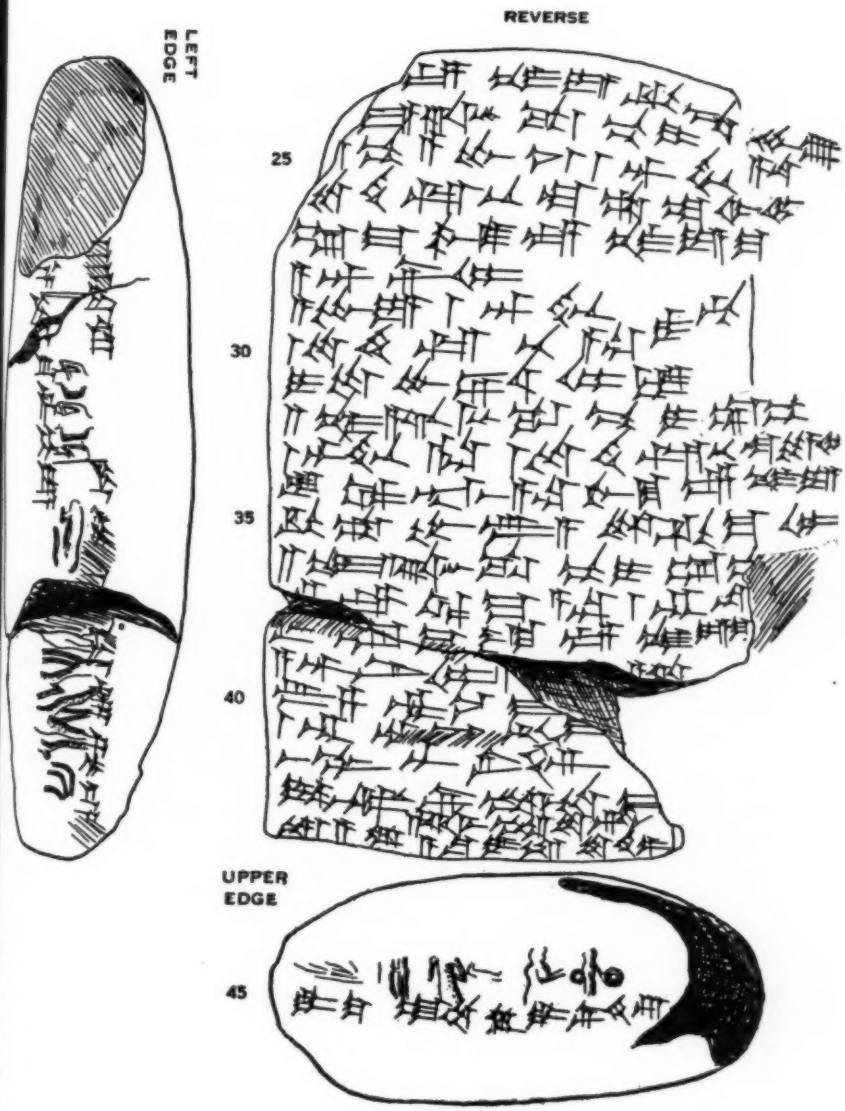

4.

NOTES TO RECENTLY PUBLISHED NUZI TEXTS

E. A. SPEISER
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IT HAS justly been remarked that no site in Western Asia compares with ancient Nuzi in the wealth and variety of legal material preserved in private family archives.[1] The importance of the Nuzi records for the study of the legal practices, the social and economic conditions, and the cultural background of this out-of-the-way district in the East-Tigris area is self-evident and not unexpected. But local considerations barely begin to reflect the full significance of these documents. Composed in a Hurrian settlement, they shed brilliant light on the life of a group whose amazing record of migrations throughout the length and breadth of the Near East has contributed, within the last decade or so, a fascinating chapter to the history of the second millennium B. C.[2] Nuzi was thus an interested witness of the Amarna age; by reason of its eccentric location it was also, fortunately, a reasonably objective one. Its documents allow us to judge the impact of the civilizations of Babylon and of Ashur upon the heterogeneous traditions of the recently settled Hurrians.[3] The original background of these newcomers is thereby brought into sharper relief. We note the ever-recurring reminders of the westward orientation of the Hurrians, and the biblical parallels, whose number is constantly increasing, now find a ready historical explanation.[4] Finally, an extremely valuable feature of the Nuzi documents is the wealth of their onomastic material. We have here a larger group of personal

[1] Cf. Koschaker, *Keilschriftrecht* 6 f. (reprinted from *ZDMG* 89).

[2] For the older literature on the subject cf. *Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.* (*AASOR*) VI. 75 ff.; Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*, *RA* XXIII. 49-161 (abbr. Gadd); Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit* (*NKRA*). Further references will be found in JOURNAL 52. 350. n. 1 and *RA* XXXI. 54. n. 1. The texts are cited as follows: JEN—Chiera, *Joint Expedition at Nuzi* (5 vols.); HSS—*Harvard Semitic Series* (V by Chiera, IX by Pfeiffer, and X by Meek). Other titles are given in full.

[3] For the problem of the Hurrians see *AASOR* XIII. 13 ff. (= Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East*, ASOR Offprint Series 1).

[4] *Ibid.* 44, and Gordon, *Revue Biblique* 1935. 1 ff. Gordon's first example (p. 2) is anticipated in *AASOR* XIII. 44.

names of both the Hurrians and the Habiru [5] than has been contributed by all the other ancient sites put together, although Nuzi lay far from the center of either group. This welcome surprise must be ascribed to accidents of discovery.

The study of the Nuzi texts (including a number from the city of Arrapha) may be said to have begun in the year 1926,[6] for prior to that date only a few scattered specimens of this family had been made known. So young a discipline will naturally teem with unsolved problems. For answers we must look to further publications. The total number of documents unearthed runs into several thousands, but until last year only some 600 of these had been published. A year ago the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad brought out two further volumes of the texts which the late Dr. Chiera had dug up in 1925.[7] Copied by the discoverer and prepared for publication by Drs. Gelb and Lacheman, these new texts constitute Nos. 321-559 of the yield of Chiera's initial campaign. Three additional documents from the same collection are presented by Dr. Lacheman in the current issue of the JOURNAL together with a republished and supplemented older text (JEN 363).[8] Lastly, Dr. Meek has just contributed to the *Harvard Semitic Series* a volume of texts from the same site, consisting of 231 splendidly autographed documents accompanied by a valuable introduction and indices of proper names.[9] The total number of published Nuzi texts is thus now well over a thousand. But with one clear exception (No. 231) Meek's texts do not come from the Hurrian level at Nuzi. Dug up for the most part during the season 1930-31, they represent older strata, the majority coming from the Old Akkadian occupation at which time the city bore the name of Gasur.[10] Since the present notes are concerned with the output of the Hurrian period, I shall confine my remarks to the material of Chiera and Lacheman and the last document in Meek's work. Obviously, only a few topics can be touched upon in this general survey. My principal object is to indicate a few of the many aspects on which the new texts throw fresh light. I shall begin

[5] For the latter see Chiera, *AJSL* XLIX. 115 ff.

[6] Gadd, *op. cit.*, and Contenau, *Babyloniaca* IX. Nos. 2-4.

[7] JEN IV-V, Philadelphia, 1934.

[8] See above, pp. 429-31.

[9] HSS X, Harvard University Press, 1935.

[10] *Ibid.* p. x.

with Lacheman's Text 1, which is sufficiently important to be given in transliteration and translation.[11]

(1) *^{d}Ištar^{1}-a-ḫa-at ù ^{1}[A-ḫa]-ti-ia* (2) *2 awêlâti$^{pl\,2}$ an-nu-tu$_4$ Ḫa-bi-ru-ú* (3) *ša ^{mât}Aq-qa-ti-i ù ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ma* (4) *a-na a-mu-ti i-na bît ^{1}Te-ḫi-ip-til-la* (5) *uš-te-ri-ib-šu-nu ù ^{1}Dûr-ili-šu* (6) *šu-ur-šu-nu ša a-we-la-ti šum-ma* (7) *awêlâti$^{pl\,ti}$ pa-qí-ra-na ir-ta-šu-ú* (8) *ù ^{1}Dûr-ili-šu ú-za-ak-ka$_4$-šu-nu-ti-ma* (9) *ù a-na ^{1}Te-ḫi-ip-til-la i-na-an-dì-in* (10) *ù ^{1}Te-ḫi-ip-til-la 40* SU *kaspa* (11) *ki-ma e-wu-ru-ti-šu it-ta-dì-in* (12) *šum-ma ^{1}Dûr-ili-šu ibbalkat^{3}-ma ù* (13) *i-ir-ri-iš ù 10* MA.NA *ḫurâṣa* (14) *a-na ^{1}Te-ḫi-ip-til-la ú-ma-al-la* (there follows a list of 19 witnesses—34) IGI *^{1}Ta-a-a mâr Apil-^{d}Sin ṭupšar-ri* (35) *^{aban}kunuk ^{1}Dur-ili-šu-^{4} awêlâti iddin^{nu}* (ll. 36-39 contain other seals — 40) *šum-ma awêlâti^{pl} ibbalkatû^{3} ù i-qa-ab-bu-ú* (41) *la* GÌM-*nu-mi ù ú-šu-ru-ú* (42) MA.NA *ḫurâṣa ú-ma-al-lu-ú*

^{1} U. ^{2} SAL.MEŠ, cf. l. 6. ^{3} KI.BAL. ^{4} The sign may have been *šu* (= *šû*), or *ša*, perhaps the latter in view of the final vowel of *iddinu*.

(Translation:) Ishtar-ahat and Ahatiya, these two Habiru women from the land of Akkad, now themselves for slavery into the house of Tehip-Tilla (5) they have caused to enter. And Dûr-ilishu is the *šu-ru* of the women. Given that the women have a claimant, then Dûr-ilishu shall clear them and furnish them to Tehip-Tilla. (10) And Tehip-Tilla 40 shekels of silver as his *ewurûtu* has paid. Given that Dûr-ilishu breaks the agreement and demands (them back), then ten minas of gold to Tehip-Tilla he shall pay as fine. (List of 19 witnesses and scribe—35) Seal of Dûr-ilishu who the women has sold. (Other seals—40) Given that the women break the contract and say, "We are not slave-women," a tenfold mina of gold they shall pay as fine.

The text is of unusual interest for a number of reasons. It presents several philological peculiarities and two hapax legomena. Its chief claim upon our attention rests, however, upon its illustrative value as regards the status of the Habiru. This fact was recognized by Chiera who excerpted the above text in his article on the "Ḫabiru and the Hebrews."[12] The publication of the docu-

[11] Thureau-Dangin's system (*Le Syllabaire Accadien*) is employed below except in the case of proper names where the primary value of each sign has been used in order not to prejudge the issues involved.

[12] *AJSL* XLIX. 119 f.

ment enables us now to check Chiera's conclusions and to modify his original interpretation. But before this is attempted, a few philological notes will be in order.

L. 2. The application of the term *awêlâti* (spelled out in l. 6) to slave-women is rather startling. But the scribe betrays his inadequate knowledge of Akkadian idiom in other instances as well; cf., e. g., his use of the masculine pl. form Ha-bi-ru-û instead of the correct feminine form of the ethnicon, which is found in JEN 453. 11.

L. 6. For *šu-ur-šu-nu* (and *e-wu-ru-ti-šu*, l. 11) see below.

L. 10. For the equation of SU with *šiqlu* see above, p. 430 n. 6.

L. 13. For *i-ir-ri-iš* (not *i-ni-ri-iš* as indicated by Chiera, *AJSL* XLIX. 120) in the sense of demanding the return of lost property cf., e. g., JEN 530. 10.

L. 14. The translation of *umalla*, "shall pay as fine" is based on the value of *mullû* "fine," which is normal in these texts.

L. 41. GÌM-*nu* stands apparently for *amtânû*, which may be termed a pseudo-permansive. The form *ú-šu-ru-ú* is based clearly on the adjectival type *quttulu*, with the final vowel lengthened as in *ešrû*. The same fine is specified in l. 13, where the amount is indicated ideographically. This particular value for 10 is new.

But the key words for the proper understanding of the text are *šu-ur-šu-nu* (l. 6) and *ki-ma e-wu-ru-ti-šu* (l. 11). Although the women are said to have entered of their own will, Dûr-ilishu is paid on their account 40 shekels of silver for his *ewurûtu*, and he is entitled to the payment by reason of being their *šu-ru*. This latter word is taken by Chiera (*op. cit.* 119) to mean "owner," though the appended question mark admits this translation to be a guess. It would be idle to speculate on which of the several values applicable to this form (which could be connected with *šuru*, *šûru*, or *šu'ru*) would be most suitable in the present context. The safest method is to proceed from the internal evidence of the document itself, and the clue must be sought therefore in *ewurûtu*.

That *ewuru* signifies "heir" was first suggested by Koschaker.[13] Since that suggestion was made (1928) the number of references has increased considerably and a closer study of the term is possible. The basic form (*ewuru*) is found in Gadd 5. 50, JEN 333. 74, 76 (in the latter instance miswritten *ta-aš-ru*),[14] 392. 14, and HSS V. 60. 10. The phrase *ewurumma eppuš* (*îtepuš*) "shall become *ewuru*" (note the intransitive use of the verb!) is found in Gadd

[13] *NKRA* 14 f.

[14] *Ibid.* 15 (pointed out by Landsberger).

51. 9, JEN 513. 7, and HSS V. 67. 15. In all passages where sufficient data are available the term is applied to adopted sons, with the single exception of JEN 392 where the party in question is the *ewuru* of his elder brother. Particularly illuminating is HSS V. 67. 8 ff.: "Given that there is a son (by marriage) of Shurihil (the testator and adoptive parent in this case), he shall be the principal son (*rabû*) and shall receive a double share; in that case (*ù*) Shennima (the person adopted) shall be next in order (*terdennu*),[15] according to his (proper secondary) share (*kî šêpi*-[16] *šu-ma*) he shall inherit. . . . When Shurihil dies, Shennima shall become *ewuru*." It would appear, then, that *ewuru* is applied to specifically designated heirs rather than to direct heirs; hence the term may be used for adopted children, and for next of kin (brother, JEN 392); presumably it could also be applied to special grants made by a father to his daughters.[17]

The abstract noun *ewurûtu*, which occurs in our text for the first time, can mean nothing else than *ewuru*-rights. Dûr-ilishu cedes these rights to Tehip-Tilla for the sum of forty shekels. His claim to such authority is based on his being the *šu-ru* of the women.

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[15] On this term see now Koschaker, *Fratriarchat, Hausgemeischaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten* 35 ff. (reprinted from *ZA* NF. VII).

[16] My previous reading of the ideogram GÌR as *emûqu* (instead of *šêpu*, cf. *AASOR* X. 2. line 11) has proved to be erroneous.

[17] For this latter possibility there is no illustration in the Nuzi documents, but there may be one in the Hittite texts. The decision hinges on the interpretation of the Hittite legal institution called *iwaru*. The meanings established for this term are "share of father's estate given in his lifetime" (Sturtevant, *Hittite Glossary* 30), "dowry" (*ibid.* 82), and in general "inherited feudal property" (Götze, *Kleinasien* 97, where the full literature is cited). The basic connection between the *iwaru*-institution and the Nuzi system of land tenure is recognized by Götze (*loc. cit.*). But now that we have been able to narrow down the meaning of *ewuru* to something like "heir by decree" as contrasted with "direct, automatic heir," the possibility of an etymological connection between the Hittite and Nuzi terms is worth considering. To be sure, there is the difference in the respective medial vowels. The interchange of *a* and *u*, however, is not new at Nuzi; see below (p. 442) for *Zi-la-ka-pi*/*Zi-la-gu-pi*, and note, e. g., Nuzi *Kuššu-hai* and Babylonian *Kaššî*. More probable would be the assumption that the difference is morphological. For whereas *iwaru* is the object, *ewuru* is the subject of the institution in question. Bearing in mind this fundamental distinction, the Hittite denominative *iwâruwâ(i)* "give an *iwaru*" (cf. Friedrich, *ZA* NF. 2. 48. n. 1, and Sturtevant, *op. cit.* 30) may be contrasted tentatively with Nuzian *ewurumma epêšu*.

This term can now be interpreted as "next of kin," normalized as *šu'ru*, and equated with *šêru* in the sense of Hebrew *š'ĕr* "kinsman, kinswoman" (cf. Lev. 18:12, 20:19). The name Dûr-ilishu, good Semitic ("Akkadian," cf. l. 3) like that of the two women, helps to confirm this identification.

As to the actual status of the Habiru as implied in this document, two points receive a certain amount of illumination. In the first place, the payment involved is one-half of the average price for a bride and two-thirds of the usual amount paid for slaves in an ordinary transaction. This lower rate must be somehow interconnected with the other feature of the contract, the so-called self-enslavement. It is plain, of course, that the phrase *ramânšunu-ma uštêribšunu* cannot be taken in its strict literal meaning. It has a bearing on the ultimate status of the "enterers" after the completion of the transaction rather than on their frame of mind prior to it. But a more precise definition of the underlying legal matters will have to await the decision of a jurist.

Before we leave this valuable document, attention may be called to a term which resembles in sound the *ewuru* discussed above. Among the recently published alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra there is a letter of one *'wr-žr*, which has attracted much notice and has led to considerable discussion.[18] With the controversial problems of interpretation we are not concerned at present. What matters just now is the name of the writer, first read 'Ur-shar, but subsequently found by several scholars to be Hurrian; the first element is now commonly read Ewiri-. That this Hurrian word has nothing to do with our *ewuru* is plain from the fact that the former has the value EN "master, king."[19] The point that I wish to make is that the middle vowel of *e-wi-ri* is inorganic, the correct form being *ewri*. To be sure, the full name is once spelled out *E-wi-ri-šar-ri*.[20] By its side we have, however, *ib-ri*[21] as a name element in the Tunip letter, and independently in the letter of Tushratta.[22] Moreover, the same word is common in the Nuzi dialect as *irwi*, particularly in the name of *Irwi-šarri*, an exact

[18] Published by Dhorme in *Syria* XIV. 235 ff. and discussed in particular by Ginsberg and Maisler, *Journal Pal. Or. Soc.* 1934. 243 ff., and *ibid.* 1935. 181 ff. Cf. also Albright, *BASOR* 54. 26; Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XII. 254; Montgomery, JOURNAL 55. 94; Harris, *ibid.* 95 ff.

[19] Cf. *Syria* XI. 313. 44. [20] *Ibid.* [21] Knudtzon, *Amarna* 17. 47.

[22] *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* XII. 2. No. 200. IV. 127 (p. 55).

counterpart of the above Ras Shamra name except for the metathesis of *w* and *r*.[23] Now it is the very fact of this metathesis that precludes the existence of an intervening vowel. Apart from this transposition, the disparity between *ewiri* and *irwi* must be graphic and not phonetic; it is due to the shortcomings of the cuneiform syllabary which was equipped to represent *irwi*, but not *ewri*. To express the latter it was necessary to resort to writings like *ib-ri*, or else *e-wi-ri*, with the medial vowel understood as silent. When we find a form like *e-wi-ir-ni*, the *r* is obviously syllabic (*ewṛ̥ni*).[23a] The transcription of the western form (Ras Shamra, Tushratta letter, Boghazköi)[24] should be therefore *ewri*, the eastern (Nuzi) *i/erwi*. The latter is, of course, in no danger of being confused with *ewuru*, owing to metathesis of the postconsonantal liquid in this particular dialect.

Turning now from Lacheman's texts to the two handsome volumes from the matchless hand of Chiera, we note first the difference in the reproduction of the characters. Lacheman's copies are properly tracings, giving an absolutely faithful picture of the originals, including seal impressions, the precise location of the breaks, and the like. Chiera's autographs are, on the other hand, inevitably conventionalized to a certain extent. One cannot imitate very well the calligraphy of scores of scribes. When the copyist is as reliable as Chiera was, there is little danger of wrong readings. But only tracings will reproduce all the graphic mannerisms of numerous scribes. In the last analysis it becomes a question of cost. When inked photographs can be afforded they are to be preferred to autographed copies.

With the exception of a few *mârûtu* fill-ups (JEN 400 ff.) the entire fourth volume of JEN is given up to proceedings in court. The value of these texts for our knowledge of East Hurrian legal procedure cannot be overestimated. From this long series of actual cases it is possible to reconstruct a considerable portion of the underlying law code and to obtain a reasonably complete picture of the basic legal machinery. While a full discussion will doubtless be

[23] Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* 145. n. 90.

[23a] See now Friedrich, *Analecta Orientalia* 12 (Festschrift Deimel) 124, who also regards the *r* as syllabic.]

[24] Cf. now Brandenstein, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB) XXVII. 38. IV. 13 [and add Friedrich, *loc. cit.*].

forthcoming from Koschaker and his able disciples, a few gleanings may be presented in this rapid survey.

JEN 333, to which I have had occasion to refer above, is a remarkably lucid account of a lengthy law-suit. A tentative translation of this text was given by Chiera and myself eight years ago (JOURNAL 47. 50 ff.), which was subsequently modified and corrected by Koschaker and Landsberger.[25] The publication of the text itself makes possible further corrections and additions. In line 38, end, the reader will reconstruct *ši-mu-*[*ma*]*-ki* "of the will." In line 76 the *ta* of *ta-aš-ru* should be provided with a sic!, for the reading is clearly *e-wu-ru*, as was first suggested by Landsberger.[26] For the present I wish to draw attention to the phrase [*la*] *bêl zitti la bêl pú-ú-ri ù la m*[*i*]*-im-ma a-na-ku-mi* "I am not owner by inheritance, nor owner by lot, nor anything" (ll. 12-13). The witness conveys in this quaint manner that he cannot be the proper defendant in this suit about a certain piece of land, having acted merely for a third party who claims to be the real owner. The phrase throws some light on the question of land tenure not only in Nuzi, but also in Canaan. Possession of land could be obtained through *zittu* (inheritance share), *pûru* (lot), or by other means such as mortgage, etc. (*mimma* "anything"). According to the Middle Assyrian law *zittu* was the preferred share of the eldest son, while the remaining shares were divided by lot (*pûru*).[27] Whether the same practices obtained in Nuzi is doubtful, but allotment played an important part in any case. This helps to illustrate the biblical use of נפל "fall" (i. e. "by lot," usually with נחלה "share")[28] when taking possession of land is indicated. The

[25] *NKRA* 15, 75 f. [26] *Ibid.* 15.

[27] *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (KAV) 2. II. 14. For *pûru* cf. *NKRA* 25. n. 3, and Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* 497, 501 f.

[28] Cf. Judges 18: 1; Psalms 16: 6, and in the causative with גורל "lot." Closer connection with the Middle Assyrian laws may be indicated in two Nuzi passages. In JEN 196. 8 f. a field is granted ana GI.GAG.TAG.GA SU*išpati* "as arrows of the quiver" (cf. Koschaker, *OLZ* 1932. 405), and in JEN 519. 6-7 we have GI.MEŠ.GAG.TAG.GA *ina libbibi iš*(*!*)*pati* [both times with the verb *nadû* "cast," as recognized by my student, Mr. M. Berkooz]. It would appear that we have here the mechanics of the *pûru* usage: it was based on the fall of the arrows from the quiver (cf. Psalms 16: 6 for a figure of speech based on this practice). Now this type of inheritance is clearly the part (*qâtu, šêpu*) of the *terdennu* (*mâru*

originally inalienable land could be obtained through inheritance as a preferential share, or by lot, and the phraseology which reflected this system was retained even after the system itself had been modified.

From the marginal notes to these texts the following few may be selected. JEN 321. 14-15 contains the phrase *kunukkêšunu girriru* "their seals have been rolled"; cf. also *ibid.* 330. 13, and HSS IX. 108. 6 (where the final KU should be changed to *ru*). JEN 330. 7 mentions the place-name *Túr-za-zi*, which reappears as *Du-ur-za-an-zi* in 339. 3. It is interesting that the same name is found in Meek's Old Akkadian texts in precisely the same two forms (Dûr-zazi, HSS X. 155. II. 2 and Dûr-zanzi, *ibid.* 111. 4). But whether this locality, which lay in the immediate vicinity of Nuzi (cf. JEN 330. 6-7), is to be identified with the city of Tursha/n, as Albright seems to imply (*BASOR.* 59. 9), is extremely uncertain. The latter name is in all probability Hurrian (cf. the personal names Turari, Tursheni, Turshiya). In JEN 331. 13 correct *i*-na-*ak-mi* to *i*-la-*ak-mi*. The meaning of the passage is that "whenever (*immatimê* with present tense) G. attempted to go to the gods (take the oath) M. would seize him (in order to prevent him)." JEN 335 is one of several texts recording suits over animals which had died as a result of an act described by *ul-te-ib-bir*, l. 9; cf. *ú-še(!)-bi-ir*, 341. 7 (*alpa tappašu*), *ú-še-ib-bi*[*-ir*], 349. 6, *et al.* This verb is obviously a cognate of Heb. שבר used in Ex. 22: 9, 13 (cf. also Ezek. 34: 4) in the technical sense of inflicting injury upon animals; the parallel between our *ultebbiršu û imtût* (ll. 9-10, or, better still, between *it-ti-ib-bi-ir-mi* (for *ištébir-mi*) *ù mi-it-mi* (ll. 19-20) and the biblical נשבר או מת, Ex. 34: 13, could scarcely be more complete.

JEN 343 (among others) shows that the penalty for theft was twelve times the property involved. In a similar case (*ibid.* 347) the *zillikuḫlu* officials testify (*širumma îtepšû*, cf. 385. 20) against the suspect, who is obliged to take an oath (*ilâni našû*) with regard

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ṣiḫru) or *ewuru*, as opposed to the preferred share of the *mâru rabû*. We obtain thus a clue to the obscure passage in KAV 2. IV. 11 ff. (for previous interpretations cf. Driver and Miles, *op. cit.* 302 ff., 501 f.). The *taḫûmu* TUR *šâ pûrâni* (ll. 20 f.) is the secondary share selected by lot, while the *taḫûmu* GAL is the *zittu* of the *mâru rabû*. The encroachment on a neighbor's (*šâ tappa'išu*) bounded property (*taḫûmu*) that represents his preferred share (GAL) draws, therefore, a heavier fine than tresspass on an allotted share (*šâ pûrâni*).

to or against (*ana*)[29] this testimony. The interesting colophon states that the case was appealed to the king, which meant an additional cost of one ox, the usual charge for such appeals.

JEN 353. 26 contains the barbarous UD.*MI*^{pl}-*ti*, for *ûmâti* "days." Such heterogeneous (Sumerian and Akkadian) ideograms with phonetic complements in the vernacular are intelligible enough in Hittite, but out of place in Nuzi, where the written language was, after all, a dialect of Akkadian. *Ibid.* 372. 4 admirably supports the view of Landsberger that *kuruštû* is fodder for fattening animals.[30] The phrase reads: *še'âti*^{pl} [31] *ša UDU*^{pl} *ku-ru-uš-ta-e* "barley for fattening sheep"; cf. also HSS IX. 50. 10, 25. 5, both of which Landsberger overlooked. In passages like JEN 384. 5 *ḫararnu* interchanges with the more usual *kumanu* (e. g., No. 401. 6) as a subdivision of the *aweḫaru* (*epinnu*) measure. In Middle Assyrian texts, on the other hand, *kumanu* seems to take the place of *epinnu*;[32] the discrepancy would disappear if *mala kumanu* in the Nuzi texts merely indicated something like "full measure." In JEN 404 *ina migratišu* (l. 2) "with his consent" is unusual for a *mârûtu*-document.

JEN V is considerably varied in contents. In addition to the Habiru texts, those bearing on family laws (Nos. 428-41) are of particular interest. The very first one may be taken as a sample, even though its fragmentary condition necessitates a certain amount of restoration. Ll. 6 ff. read: *ù* ^{I}*Š. a-na* [*aš-šu-ti*] *a-na mâri-šu i-na-an-dì-*[*in*] *ḫa-dì-in* [33] ^{I}*Š. a-na-awêli ša* DUMU.DÙ (*ewurumma ippuš*, or *ša ana mârûti ša ipšu*, cf. *ibid.* 432. 9) *i-na*[*-an-dì-in*]

[29] The use of *ana* in this connection goes back to the Hammurabi Code Rev. VI. 4 (*ana mutiša*). But the usual translation of the phrase "for the sake of her husband" is not adequate in the light of the present occurrences. The force is rather that of Latin *coram*.

[30] *Archiv für Orientforschung* (*AfO*) X. 149.

[31] So of course and not *še'ûti* as maintained by Gordon, *Muséon* XLVIII. 118, on the basis of HSS IX. 144. 20, where we should read Ú-*ti* "balance payment" in *šupe'ultu* transactions (= *iplîti*?), which is so frequent in the Nuzi texts.

[32] Cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (KAJ) 149. 2: *3 ikû 1 ku-ma-ni 3 GÌR*^{pl} *eqla*.

[33] This form interchanges with *ḫašiḫ/ḫašḫu*. The final *n* is unusual. Does it reflect the changed pitch which is to be presupposed in sentences of this kind, i. e., *ḫadî* "and *if* it please her"? Cf. the fem. form *ḫa-ta-ta*, JEN 465. 10.

ù la a-na aš-šu-ti a-na awêli ⟨na-ka-ri⟩ i-na-an-din "And the woman Š. as wife to her son she may give (and), if it please her, to one adopted she may give; to a stranger she shall not give (her)." In JEN 434. 9-10 *šu-ú-mu ša awêli ša-a-ni-i* [*i*]*-qa-ab-bi* "speak the name of another man" is an interesting paraphrase of "live in the house of another man." *Ibid.* 438. 4: *ša-la-aš-šu-um-ma i-pu-šu* "forfeit" brings up once more the question of the etymology of *ša(la)šší-ma*; the correspondence of *šal(a)šu* with *šaššu* suggests strongly the Akkadian word for "three."

One could bring up many other points and problems,[34] but space does not allow such luxury. In conclusion, I wish to cite a few samples of the onomastic material. The names *ʾIt-hi-ip-Nu-zu* (*ibid.* 505. 5) and *A-ri-ip-Ḫur-ra* (No. 506. 1) permit the identification of Nuzu and Hurra as deities. The ideograms ^{I}MAR.TU.KU (*ibid.* 357. 21) can be deciphered without much difficulty as Amurriš-takal.[35] ŠEŠ-*ia* (*ibid.* 333. 88) is probably *Šenni-ia*. But we do not have always such smooth sailing. In JEN 477. 29 *Du-uš-ma-na* strikes one as an Indo-Iranian name, for all that the father bears the typically Hurrian name of Tehit-Teshup. We have the same problem with *Tu-uš-ma-na*, son of *Tu-ri-ki-tar*[36] (JEN 89. 18). But on finding that Tehit-Teshup appears in JEN 85. 34 as the father of *Du-um-ši-ma-na*, the two being clearly the same as the above pair, we are constrained to give up all thoughts as to the possible non-Hurrian origin of Duš-mana. And yet, *Du-u(m)-ši-ma-na* is a not impossible writing for the former. What I am driving at is that Hurrian names appear in these texts in many and wondrous disguises. How seriously should one take the ideographically written names? At first glance (DINGIR)UTU-*ri* (son of *Zi-la-gu-bi*, JEN 68. 29) looks like Šimika-ri[36a]; but *Ša-ma-aš*-RI son of *Zi-la-ku-bi* (JEN 212. 28) forces us to normalize the

[34] Note, e. g., *ki-ir-pa-an-šu eḫ-te-pú* "I disinherit him," JEN 478. 4-5. Cf. *AASOR* X. 10. The phrase refers evidently to some symbolic act which consists in the breaking of an earthen vessel.

[35] Cf. Lewy, *ZA* NF. I. 148 ff., von Soden, *ibid.*, VII. 104, and for the related *Iliš-takal*, Meek. HSS X. 10. 7.

[36] Here *ḫal* is an obvious error for *tar*.

[36a] For **Šimigi* + *ari*, though it is of course problematical whether the verb would appear in this bare form. This purely hypothetical equivalence is mentioned merely for the sake of argument. For the equation of *Šimigi* with DUTU see KUB XXVII. iv, and cf. *AASOR* X. 4 for the writing *gi* (would the *k* in -kari, wr. usually *-qa-ri*, be due to the following *a*?).

pair as Samaš-re'u and Ṣil(i)-Kubi. On the other hand, there are many scribes named Šimikari (cf. e. g., JEN 87. 40, 204. 38, 311. 29, 478. 24), while a number of others bear the approximately equivalent Sumerian name (DINGIR)UTU MA.AN.SÈ. Was the latter a showy translation of the Hurrian original? Yet, in two instances Šamaš-iddinam (to give the Sumerian group its Akkadian value) has UL(DU_7).(DINGIR)IM as father (JEN 82. 25, 436. 15). And as if this were not enough, UL.(DINGIR)IM is the son of the unquestionably Hurrian *Dup-ki-til-la* (JEN 340. 44). The chances are that the fanciful scribe was to his friends plain Šimikari son of Shehel-Teshup, or the like, rather than Šamaš-iddinam or UTU.MANSE son of DU_7.IŠKUR. But we cannot be sure.

Finally, the text published by Meek in HSS X. 231 is unique among all the records of the Hurrian period at Nuzi. As Meek has pointed out, it differs from the contemporary documents in clay texture, shape, size, and content.[37] The few lines that have been preserved give (with the aid of restorations from unpublished seals) the name of Ithi-Teshup son of Kibi-Teshup, king of Arrapḫa, followed by curses against those who remove the king's name. Adad and Ishtar of Lubdi (*Lu-ub-tu-ḫi*) are invoked as protecting deities. That the text bears unmistakable marks of western influence has also been recognized by Meek. Of special interest is this new instance of the Hurrian suffix *-ḫi*, with genitival or adjectival force.[38] An extension (of non-Hurrian origin?) of this suffix is found in ^{mât}*Ku-uš-šu-ḫa-i* (HSS V. 37. 6) and ^{mât}*Ku-u*[*š*]*-šu-u*[*ḫ*]*-ḫa-ú* (JEN 529. 69) "land of the Kassites, Babylonia." The evident importance of the city of Lubdi, well attested in the Nuzi records as well as in later Assyrian times,[39] cannot escape notice. From all indications, the discovery and excavation of the site is a goal well worth pursuing.

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[37] HSS IX. xxvi. The number 230 should be changed to 231.

[38] Note the change of the *i* in *Lubdi* to *u* before *-ḫi* (*Lubdu-ḫi*). That such changes do not necessarily imply a suffix *-uḫe* instead of *-ḫe*, as maintained by Albright (*AfO* VI. 166), may be seen from such forms as (URU)*U-da-ḫi*, (URU)*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na-ḫi*, and (URU)*Ša-mu-ḫa-ḫi*, *Syria* XII. 258 f., and now also KUB XXVII. 1. II. 38-39. All that we may gather from instances like *Lubdi/Lubduḫi* is that a final *i* changes to *u* before the suffix *-ḫi*. [See now the identical conclusion of Friedrich in *Analecta Orientalia* 12. 120. n. 3.]

[39] On the question of the location of Lubdi see Albright, JOURNAL 45. 211 f. For a recent gentilic form see *AfO* X. 47 (*fLu-ub-da-i-tu*).

THE MAGIC HOLLY IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

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THE JAPANESE *Hiiragi* translated "holly" is properly the *Osmanthus ilicifolius*,[1] and in spite of Ichiku Okamoto's statement that it was first transplanted from Korea during the Kyôhô era (1716-1736),[2] holly is a native of Japan. It is widely distributed in the main island and Shikoku, and used as a hedge plant. Its prickly and non-prickly kinds are distinguished as "male" and "female" holly.[3]

Holly called *hihiragi* or rarely *hiragi*, is mentioned twice in the *Kojiki*, the earliest written record of Japan, compiled in 712 A. D. The first is in connection with the name of a deity, *Hihiragi-no-sono-hana-madzumi-no-kami*.[4] Motoori suggests that *hihiragi* here may be only a kind of "pillow word" for the succeeding *sono-hana*, the flowers, and the remaining part of the name is corrupted beyond identification.[5] Tominobu, however, suggests that the holly tree blossoms very rarely; hence it is described as *madzumi*, "rarely seen."[6] Chamberlain accepts the latter interpretation and translates it: "Deity Waiting-to-see-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly."[7]

The second passage in the *Kojiki* refers to a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long, which was given to Prince Yamatotake by the Heavenly Sovereign before he was sent to subdue the East.[8] Later upon his successful return, the said spear was presented to the great

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[1] Nakai, Takenoshin, *Trees and Shrubs Indigenous in Japan Proper*, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 356-8.

[2] Kariya, Ekisai, *Senchû wamyô ruiju shô* [Catalogue of Japanese names], revised and annotated, *ca.* 1810, Book 20, under *Trees*.

[3] Matsuoka, Gentatsu, *Honzo ikka gen* [Herbalist notes], *ca.* 1800, Book 2, under 枸骨. *Encyclopaedia Britannica:* "In some English districts, they are distinguished as 'he' and 'she' holly."

[4] *Kojiki* [Records of ancient matters], vol. 2, sect. 26.

[5] Motoori, Norinaga, *Kojiki-den* [Commentary of the *Kojiki*], completed in 1798; published in 1901, vol. 1, pp. 647-8.

[6] Hosoda, Tominobu, *Jindai seigo tokiwa-gusa* [Words and phrases used in ancient times], in manuscript.

[7] Chamberlain, B. H., *Kojiki*, 2nd ed., 1932, p. 100.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

shrine in Ise.[9] Of course the story of Prince Yamatotake belongs to the age of myth, but coming down to the historical period, we find that in the first month of the year 702 A. D., the court architect presented Emperor Monmu with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long,[10] and in the eighth month of the same year, the said spear was sent to the shrine in Ise.[11] In the *Harima fudoki*, the earliest topographical history compiled in the Wadô period (708-714), China is described as *Hihiragi yashiro hokone sokotsukanu kuni*, "the country whose foundation cannot be touched even with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long."[12] The term "eight fathoms long" is often used to give an impression of incommensurability. Motoori supposes a spear to be a mere ornamental stick and not the weapon with a metal point.[13] However, since the holly-wood is described as hard and white like bones of a dog,[14] and its grain as extremely fine, it was well fitted to be made into a weapon. Ascham speaks of the fitness of holly for the piecing of a shaft.[15] It is noted also that among the Maidu Indians of Butte County, California, the arrow points made from the holly bush have long been used for small game and birds.[16] In any case, judging from the above as well as the later records, the holly-wood spear eight fathoms long seems to have been vested with a certain magic power among the primitive Japanese.

About the same time another holly cult was growing up in the Imperial court. On the second day of the first month of the year 689 A. D., "the Bureau of Great Learning presented eighty staves"[17] to the members of the Imperial Household for the purpose of driving out evil spirits.[18] The *Engi-shiki*[19] describes in

[9] *Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki* [Story of Princess Yamato], compiled in the 9th century, and only a second half comes down in manuscript. Some scholars, however, believe it to be a later forgery.

[10] *Shoku Nihongi* [Chronicles of Japan: second series], compiled in the 9th century, 1903 ed., Book 2, p. 20.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[12] *Gunsho ruijû* [Collected works], 1918, vol. 17, p. 9.

[13] Motoori, N., *Kojiki-den*, vol. 2, pp. 1622-3.

[14] *Wakan sansai zue* [Illustrated cyclopaedia of Japanese and Chinese matters], 1713, Book 84, p. 11.

[15] *Toxophilus*, Book 2: School of shooting.

[16] *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Sept. 1908, vol. 21, p. 244.

[17] *Nihongi* [Chronicles of Japan], tr. by W. G. Aston, 1897, vol. 2, p. 389.

[18] *Nihongi ryaku* [Brief chronicles of Japan], 1st ser., vol. 16, part 4.

[19] Compiled during the Engi period (901-922) and deals with the court rites and ceremonies exclusively, 1906 ed., pp. 485-6.

detail the ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare each year and mentions holly among the woods used for this purpose. The custom was of Chinese origin,[20] and in its early stage peach sticks were used.[21] In Japan sticks cut to five feet in length and tied two or three together, were placed in the four corners of various rooms in the court. The occasion was made much of, and Sei Shônagon counts it as one of the most pleasant events of the court life.[22] There is evidence of its being annually observed till the beginning of the 14th century,[23] but gradually this quaint ceremony was merged into another of the same purpose known as the *Setsubun*.[24]

The *Setsubun* too has its origin in China,[25] and the ceremony is characterized by the scattering of toasted beans on the eve of the spring season to drive out evil spirits. Because of the close resemblance in their purpose and method of celebration, often the *Setsubun* and the ancient court custom known as *Tsuina*[26] have been confused.[27] The former came into existence at least two hundred years later and at first was celebrated only among the common people.

The *Setsubun* is first described in the *Tosa nikki* [Tosa Diary].[28] On his return journey to Kyoto from his post in Tosa Province, Tsurayuki was detained at Ôminato by a storm, and wrote:

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[20] *Han shu* 漢書 99, Book 2. 卯金刀 or 剛卯 is a kind of metal sword devised by Wang Mang (B. C. 33-A. D. 23) and worn on the first day of the Hare each year to drive away evil spirits. When the above two or three characters are put together, they form the character 劉 the surname of the Han rulers.

In Japan wooden sticks used for the same purpose were first called 剛卯枝 and later 卯枝. Though some scholars claim that Chinese 剛卯 and Japanese 剛卯枝 are different, as far as I can determine, they seem to be the same.

[21] *Eastern Miscellany*, 東方雜誌, vol. 31, no. 4, Feb. 1934, pp. 55-60.

[22] *Makura no sôshi* [Pillow-book], *ca.* 1000, Book 4.

[23] *Koji ruien* [Cyclopaedia of antiquities], Part 19, p. 1367.

[24] *Kokon yoran ko* [Guide to ancient-modern matters], vol. 1, p. 747.

[25] *Hou han shu*, Book 15. See also: *Lei shu t'suan yao*, 類書纂要, Book 5.

[26] *Koji ruien*, Part 19, pp. 1367-1383.

[27] See: Aston's *Nihongi*, p. 389.

[28] Written by Ki no Tsurayuki in 935.

Though 'tis the New Year's day, the ship remains at the same place. . . . All day we thought only of Kyoto longingly.

'I wonder,' we said to each other, 'how it is in Kyoto. Are the customary decorations of straw rope, mullet head, holly, and the like displayed at the small house doors?'

Tsurayuki makes it clear that it was a custom among the common people, but before the 15th century it came to be an annual institution. In a New Year's *surimono*, Hokkei (1780-1850) depicts a woman toasting beans under the customary decorations of the season, and on the top of a sliding door is stuck a holly branch with a sardine head.[29] The mullet head in the course of time was substituted for the sardine head, and in his poem called "Holly," Tameie Fujiwara makes a pun with the word *iwashi*, sardine, and *iwaji*, not to say.[30] In the *Seiji yôryaku*,[31] it is said, there is a crude picture of a court astrologer chasing a devil with a stick, the end of which is decorated with a prickly holly leaf.

Thus very early holly came to be credited with the power of exorcising the evil spirits, was the essential element of the festival of *Setsubun*, and the coming of the spring was heralded by the voice of holly venders.[32]

A 17th century rationalist as well as moralist Kôko Kaibara writes:[33]

On the eve of the beginning of the spring season, to place heads of sardine and holly is to ward off the devil called *Kagu-hana* [Smelling Nose], who is said to eat man. But really this is a superstition of the ignorant and should not be taken seriously.

Nevertheless, this custom was practised widely, and holly was considered the only effective means of frightening away the devils. To cite a few examples from the contemporary literature: in a

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[29] The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. 45721.

[30] *Yono naka wa kazu narazu tomo hiiragi no*
Iro ni idetemo iwaji tozo omoo.
An anthology compiled in 1224 and quoted in the *Kokon yôran kô*, vol. 1, p. 936.

[31] Compiled by Kotosuke Koremune, *ca.* 1000.

[32] *Haikai jiten* [Dictionary of the *Haikai* poems], revised and enlarged ed., 1928.

[33] *Nihon saiji-ki* [Calendar of rites and ceremonies of Japan], 1687, Book 7, p. 10.

comic interlude entitled *Setsubun Festival*,[34] probably put in the present form in the mid-16th century, there is the following monologue by the devil who comes from the Island of Eternal Youth:

> As I hurry along, I am already in the Isles of Japan. I am exceedingly tired and hungry and want something to eat. Oh, here is a house. I shall take a look.
>
> Ouch, ouch! How painful!
>
> I forgot all about this being the night of the *Setsubun* when people put holly at the door to scare us away, and hurt my eyes badly.

Again in the *Oni no tsuchi* [Magic Mallet of the Devil] [35] of a little later date, the devil who comes from the Island of Hôrai to attend the fair of the Dragon's day, has had a little too much to drink.

> Devil: How frightening! Terrible, terrible!
>
> Waki: What is the matter, Sir?
>
> Devil: Yonder between the two stone buildings, a branch of holly is sticking right into my path. I am scared. Ha, ha, ha!

One of the favorite subjects of the Ôtsu painters in the 18th century was a rat chasing a devil up a pillar holding in his mouth the magic holly leaves.[36] Sometimes on the side, *yuruse, yuruse*, "Pardon, pardon," is written with vermillion ink.[37] In *netsuke* too this theme is frequently used, and once I saw an unsigned *netsuke* illustrating a master of ceremony with a holly twig in his hand and a devil hiding his face with his hands. In textile, the only design of holly I have seen is of the beautiful *kesa* or priest's robe of the 17th century,[38] identified as the Shichijô style by Miss Helen C. Gunsaulus.

Holly either as a given or surname is not known in modern Japan. However, in ancient times in the province of Yamato, there was one Hiragi [39] (which is a contracted form of *Hiiragi*), who was

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[34] *Zoku kyogen ki* [Collection of comic interludes; second series], 1903, p. 365.

[35] *Kyogen niju-ban* [Twenty comic interludes], 1903, p. 97.

[36] *Ôtsu-ye*, 1920, Folio 1, plate 24.

[37] Yanagi, M., "The peasant painting of Ôtsu," *Eastern Art*, 1930, vol. 2, pp. 5-36.

[38] The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. C12600.

[39] *Sei-shi kakei jisho* [Genealogical dictionary], 1930, p. 1170.

a Shinto priest. During the Genroku period (1688-1704) there was in Kyoto a group of metal workers known as the *Hiiragi-ya* [Holly House].[40] Their sword-guards were called the *Hiiragi-ya tsuba* and prized for their exquisite inlay work. As to the origin of their name "Holly," nothing is known.

Holly, however, was used as the *mon* or family badge, and according to Yorisuke Numata,[41] its earliest use appears in the *Kenbun shoka mon* [Family badges of various houses which I have seen or heard] compiled in the 15th century. Already a holly crest was used by the Kamiie and Uehara families. In the early Tokugawa period among the feudal lords, Ôseki and Ichihashi adopted it.[42] The Ichihashi badge especially is interesting since it consists of three holly leaves and three toasted beans, suggesting definitely the celebration of the *Setsubun* and their power of exorcising evil spirits.

The legend of the Holly Grove [43] in the suburb of Kyoto again goes back to antiquity. In the year 735 A. D. for the first time, the country experienced the terrific epidemic of small-pox.[44] It started in spring and raged till the late summer, taking a heavy toll of lives. Especially Tankai Fujiwara, a poet and courtier, suffered a loss of his four sons. Grief stricken, Tankai consulted the famous oracle of the Kamo Shrine,[45] and was told to offer a prayer at the Shrine of Holly.[46] Having followed the oracle, the remaining members of the family escaped the dread disease, and as an expression of his deep gratitude, Tankai offered a holly tree to the shrine.

The efficacy of the shrine of Holly against small-pox soon spread

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[40] Wada, T., *Honpô sôken kinkô ryaku-shi* [Brief history of the metal workers of Japan], 1913, pp. 85-86.

[41] *Nihon monshô gaku*, 1926, pp. 646-8.

[42] Tanaka, Kikuo, *Iroha-biki monchô* [Family badges arranged in the i-ro-ha order], 1881, p. 100.

[43] *Hiragi no mori* in Japanese. Its earliest mention is in the *Chôshun-ki* [Diary of a courtier] by Morotoki Minamoto (d. 1139).

[44] *Shoku Nihongi*, Book 12, p. 214.

[45] *Kamo-Mioya jinja* in the Lower Kamo District in Kyoto and one of the earliest national shrines listed in the *Engi-shiki*, Book 9: Deities IX, p. 281.

[46] *Hiragi no yashiro*, one of the lesser shrines within the great *Kamo jinja*. Its patron deity is Prince Susanoo, brother to the great Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. The name Hiragi probably was derived from a holly tree growing in its ground.

over the country, and people came from far and near with their offerings, and the famous Grove of Holly was thus established. The trees offered, however, were not all holly: there were camellias, elder bushes, orange trees, and others. But as soon as they were transplanted in the grove, they began to grow prickly leaves and gradually the entire tree was metamorphosed into holly.[47] During the Middle Ages, the grove was considered one of the curious sights of Kyoto.[48]

Chûryô Satô, an herbalist of Edo in the 18th century, was not willing to accept such a tale without looking into the matter personally. In the course of his herb-gathering, therefore, he made a special pilgrimage to the Shrine of Holly and wrote:

> . . . It is said that all the trees brought to the Grove of Holly metamorphose into holly, but upon examining them closely, I find that they do not metamorphose, but are holly from the first.[49]

The story of metamorphosis, however, found an exponent in Sôzan Miyoshi, who visited the Grove in 1838. He writes:

> . . . As I looked closely into the sacred Grove, which is some 24 square yards, I found, though there are various kinds of trees, they are either entirely or partially holly. . . . I recognized camellias, oaks, gardenias, and a few others, but they were already half holly. In one corner, however, there was a clump of elder bushes, which still maintained their own leaves. It might be that the leaves of the lower branches have grown prickly, but they were so closely planted that I was unable to examine them. Inside the Grove, it is so crowded that there is no more space, and people plant their offerings outside, and they all turn into holly in no time. . . .[50]

To sum up, from primitive times to the present, holly in Japan has been vested with a certain magic power. Although the rites and ceremonies connected with it came from China originally, its cult is indigenous to Japan, and finds closer parallels in Western folk-lore.[51]

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[47] *Koji ruien* under *Plants*, Book 10, p. 631.

[48] Matsuo, Genki, *Fuyô Kyôka-shi* [Description of Kyoto], 1665, vol. 1, p. 2.

[49] *Chûryô manroku* [Chûryô's miscellany], *ca.* 1790, and printed in the *Zuihitsu taikan*, vol. 5, p. 22.

[50] *Sôzan chobun kishu* [Sozan's wonders, seen and heard], 1854, Book 5, p. 53.

[51] See for example the English use of holly to drive out witches and for Christmas decoration, or the legend of holly-oak in the sacred grove of Diana.

(*Specimen Plate*)
(fol. 24 a)

UNIV OF MIC...

THE GARRETT SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPT OF ST. LUKE

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(with one plate)

AS FAR as we know to-day, there are extant no complete copies of ancient Coptic manuscripts of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Sahidic Coptic manuscript of St. Luke, which is now in the possession of Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, is therefore of very great importance in the study of the Coptic Gospels. The Garrett manuscript, which is written in well-drawn uncials on parchment, probably was copied in the sixth century.

In the *Album de Paleographie Copte pour servir a l'introduction paleographique des Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte* by Henri Hyvernat, Paris-Rome, 1888, plate 3 is a reproduction of pages 20 and 21 of a manuscript from the Borgian Collection, No. 246, Naples, which is assigned to the sixth or seventh century. A comparison between this plate and the Garrett manuscript shows rather close resemblances in the formation of the letters. While the Borgian codex is practically constant in having a single form of ⲙ and ⲗ, we have two types of these letters in the Garrett manuscript.

On plate 4, Hyvernat, *op. cit.*, we have a reproduction of a manuscript which too is dated about the sixth or seventh century. The ⲉ and the ⲗ of the Garrett manuscript resemble those of the plate. The two types of ⲙ also have their counterparts on plate 4. On the basis of these comparisons, the manuscript apparently belongs to the sixth or seventh century.

Further aid in dating the manuscript is found in W. H. Worrell's *Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (University of Chicago Press, 1931). Speaking of the date of his manuscript, Worrell says (xi): "The hand of the Chicago manuscript would, in the absence of other evidence, be dated conservatively as of the sixth century; and this would seem to be demanded by the rounded *epsilon*, on the one hand, and the hair lines and smallness of the letters on the other." Professor Worrell reproduces four pages of the Chicago manuscript in facsimile. A comparison of these pages with the Garrett manuscript

shows many close similarities in the formation of the letters, among which is *epsilon*. If we accept Worrell's date, the Garrett manuscript should be assigned to the same period; the writer sees no reason to disagree with Professor Worrell.

A comparison of the Garrett manuscript with the plates in the third volume of Horner's Sahidic Version of the New Testament, Oxford, 1911, also favours the sixth century as the date of this manuscript.

The ornamental scrolls which are drawn in the margins at the beginning of chapters or divisions in the text, show likewise a great similarity to the scrolls of the above mentioned Borgian codex. The decorations are drawn in ink only, without any further colouring. The divisions in the text correspond to the early κεφάλαια which were used in Greek Biblical codices.

The manuscript lacks about 370 verses through loss of folios; only 55 folios are left. In some places the codex is worm-eaten; in many cases the lower line or a portion of it is missing, because the folio is either worm-eaten or thumb-worn. Folio 1 is very badly mutilated, and chapter 1, 1-5 is practically illegible; folio 1 b is more legible than 1 a, but much is missing on account of the worm-eaten condition of the folio. Folios 2 and 3 are also very fragmentary. Folic 4 has one large worm-hole and two smaller ones. On account of defects of this nature occurring throughout the codex, probably fifty more verses are missing in this codex. No superscription is visible on the first page.

The following list gives the numbers of the extant folios with the chapters and verses contained on each; no indication is made of the loss of verses (or more frequently of parts of verses) through defects in the parchment: 1. I, 1-6; 7-13 —— 2. I, 14-20(?); 20(?)-26 —— 3. I, 26-34; 34-41 —— 4. I, 41-50; 50-61 —— 5. I, 61-69; 69-79 —— 6. I, 79-II, 7; 7-14 —— 7. II, 14-22; 22-28 —— 8. II, 28-37; 37-44 —— 9. II, 44-52; 52-III, 4 —— 10. III, 4-10; 10-16 —— 13. IV, 11-18; 18-24 —— 14. IV, 24-32; 32-37 —— 15. IV, 38-42; 43-V, 6 —— 16. V, 6-12; 12-17 —— 17. V, 17-24; 24-30 —— 19. VI, 4-11; 11-17 —— 20. VI, 17-23; 23-33 —— 21. VI, 33-38; 39-45 —— 22. VI, 45-49; 49-VII, 8 —— 23. VII, 8-14; 14-21 —— 24. VII, 21-26; 26-33 —— 25. VII, 33-40; 40-47 —— 26. VII, 47-VIII 3; 3-9 —— 27. VIII, 9-14; 14-19 —— 28. VIII, 19-25; 25-29 —— 29. VIII, 29-34; 34-39 —— 30. VIII, 39-45; 45-51 —— 31. VIII, 51-IX, 3; 3-9 —— 32. IX, 9-14; 14-20 —— 33. IX,

20-26; 26-33 —— 34. IX, 33-40; 40-47 —— 35. IX, 47-55; 55-X, 2 —— 36. X, 2-10; 10-18 —— 37. X, 18-24; 24-32 —— 38. X, 32-40; 40-XI, 5 —— 39. XI, 5-14; 14-22 —— 40. XI, 22-29; 30-37 —— 41. XI, 37-45; 45-52 —— 42. XI, 52-XII, 5; 5-11 —— 43. XII, 11-20; 20-28 —— 44. XII, 28-36; 36-43 —— 45. XII, 44-51; 51-58 —— 46. XII, 58-XIII, 7; 7-15 —— 47. XIII, 15-24; 24-31 beginning —— 54. XVI, 17-24; 25-31 —— 55. XVI, 31-XVII, 7; 7-15 —— 56. XVII, 15-24; 24-32 —— 57. XVII, 33-XVIII, 5; 5-12 —— 58. XVIII, 12-17; 18-26 —— 59. XVIII, 26-34; 34-XIX, 1 —— 60. XIX, 2-9; 9-16 —— 61. XIX, 16-24; 24-33 —— 62. XIX, 33-43; 43-XX, 3; originally XX, 4, but broken off. —— 63. XX, 4-12; 12-19 —— 64. XX, 19-28; 28-38.

The upper margins in a number of pages contain short lines of script which have been added by different hands of a later period. These notes, in some cases, are short titles indicating the content of the text below; in other cases, they are liturgical memoranda, noting the days on which particular lessons are to be read. No consistent system, however, is furnished in these fragmentary marginal notes.

In respect to completeness, the Garrett manuscript of St. Luke takes a worthy place beside Horner's Sahidic MSS. of Luke, 91 and 114. These manuscripts are described in *The Coptic Versions of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect—otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic,* Oxford, 1911 (which is Horner's work), Vol. III, 353, 355. In the John Pierpont Morgan Library is a Coptic manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eighth or ninth century. In this manuscript the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John are complete, but fourteen leaves from Luke (IV, 33-IX, 30; IX, 62-XIII, 18) were missing, when the manuscript was found.

A comparison of the contents of the Garrett manuscript with those of the manuscripts used by Horner and of the Morgan Gospels shows the great importance of this codex in the Coptic version of St. Luke. This codex represents a good text of the Sahidic Gospel of St. Luke. A careful collation of the manuscript with the text and apparatus criticus of Horner proves that there is extant just one Sahidic version of this Gospel. The manuscript, in many cases, follows Horner's readings in the footnotes rather than those of his text. While the manuscript is old and excellent, it gives us practically nothing beyond what Horner had in forming his text. It should be noted that it has many points of agreement with the

following of Horner's manuscripts, which are arranged in the order of the frequency of these agreements: 114, 91, 89, 85, 86, 73, 129, 90, 111, 11, 8, 9, 78, δ, 53, 88, 25, 70, 16, 126. It is of the greatest importance, however, to observe that its readings agree most consistently with 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86, and consequently we conclude that it forms a group with them. Agreements here and there with the following also were noted: 37, f^1, m^1, γ^1, 12^1, 13^1, 24^1, l^1, 25^1, 1, 128, 346, 108, 15, 41, 17, 33; the order of the numbers in this sentence and the following one is of no significance, since the agreements are too few to enable us to draw any conclusions. Occasional readings were also found in agreement with ϵ^1, 6^1, 9^1, 19^1, 21^1, 48^1, 5, 14, 13, 18, 41, 47, 49, 50, 57, 62, 63, 64, 69, 84, 113, 116, 118, 124, 131, 157, 159, 209, 239, 240, 244, 274.

The dialect of the manuscript is Sahidic. In 18, 11, Horner has ⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲛⲥ̄, which is a Bohairic form; he does not list in his notes the Sahidic form, ⲛ̄ϭⲟⲛⲥ̄. The manuscript uniquely has the Sahidic form in this instance. The codex, however, contains a few localisms or individualisms, among which is especially prominent the fondness of ⲃ for ⲫ. In this category are found the following examples:[1] 3, 7, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲫⲱ—ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲃⲱ, which is also Sahidic. This reading is not found in any of Horner's manuscripts: 7, 14, ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲓ—ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲓ, agreeing with Horner's MSS. 114, 129; 7, 24, ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲛ̄ϥⲁⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ—ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲓⲛⲉ, agreeing with Horner's 78, 80, 86, 114; 7, 44, ⲉⲁⲥϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϥⲱ—ⲁⲥⲃⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϥⲱ, agreeing with 78, 86, 114; 8, 18, ⲥⲉⲛⲁϥⲓⲧϥ̄—ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧϥ agreeing with MSS. 86, 91, 114; 10, 1, ⲕⲉⲱϥⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ—ⲕⲉⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ̄, agreeing with 88; 10, 11, ⲧⲉⲛϥⲱⲧⲉ—ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲧⲉ, agreeing with 88, 91; 10, 17, ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲡⲉⲱϥⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ—ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲡⲕⲉⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ where δ and 88 have -ⲃ-; 10, 35, ϥⲉⲓⲡⲉϥⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ—ⲃⲓⲡⲉϥⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ; 12, 7, ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϥⲱ—ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲃⲱ, agreeing with 89, 91, 129; 12, 26, ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϥⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ—ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ; 13, 21, ⲱⲁⲛⲧϥ̄ⲭ-ⲓⲟⲁⲃ—ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲃ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲁⲃ; 18, 20, ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ϩⲱϥⲧ̄—ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ϩⲱⲃⲧ agreeing with 89, 91, 114. Some of these forms are recognized in the lexicon as variant[2] Sahidic forms.

[1] In all citations, the reading of Horner is always placed first, while that of the Garrett manuscript is second.

[2] The interchange of these two sounds is frequent, cf. Till, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, München, 1931, § 7 j; Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Univ. of Michigan, 1934, 83-88, 99-100.

There is found in the manuscript also the opposite change, ϥ for ϧ: 9, 32, ⲡϩⲓⲛⲏϧ—ⲡϩⲓⲛⲏϥ; 10, 35, ϩ̄ⲕⲓⲧⲉ—ϥⲕⲏⲧⲉ, '2 drachmas.' According to Horner, his manuscript had ϥ, which he corrected to ϧ.

In the manuscript, in a number of instances, ⲅ is read for ⲕ: 6, 18, ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁ·ⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ—ⲛⲁⲅⲁ·ⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ; 8, 29, *idem;* 11, 24, *idem*, in agreement with MS. 89; 13, 14, ⲉϥⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ—ⲉϥⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲅⲧⲓ̂ where 90 and 91 also have –ⲛⲁⲅ–. On the other hand, ⲕ is found for ⲅ: 19, 29, ⲉⲃⲏⲇⲫⲁⲅⲏ—ⲉⲃⲏⲇⲫⲁⲕⲏ, in agreement with MSS. 89, 90, 91, 114.

ⲇ is found for ⲧ: 10, 18, ⲉⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ—ⲉⲡⲥⲁⲇⲁⲛⲁⲥ in agreement with 91; 10, 35, ⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲭⲉⲩⲥ—ⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁ̄:: ⲇⲟⲕⲉⲩⲥ, in agreement with Bohairic D, E; 11, 18, ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ—ⲡⲥⲁⲇⲁⲛⲁⲥ, in agreement with MS. 89; 16, 26, ⲟⲩⲧⲉ—ⲟⲩⲇⲉ in agreement with 91, 114.

On the other hand, ⲧ is written for ⲇ: 9, 7, ϩⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ—ϩⲏⲣⲱⲧⲏⲥ; 9, 9, *idem.*

Among other changes may be noted ϥ for ⲩ: 20, 18, ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϩⲉ—ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥϩⲉ; cf. ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϩⲉ, MSS. 90, and 114. The opposite change is found, 8, 29, ⲉϣⲁϥⲧⲟⲣⲡϥ̄—ⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲟⲣⲡϥ̄. In 18, 1, ϭ is written for ⲕ, and ⲅⲕ (graphically) for ⲛⲕ: ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲕⲉⲓ—ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲉⲅⲕⲁϭⲓ̂. In this case, MSS. 89, 91, 114 also have ϭ for ⲕ. In 19, 2, 5, 8, ⲍⲁⲕⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ—ⲍⲁⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ in agreement with MSS. 73, etc.

Anaptyxis occurs: 11, 15, ⲃⲉⲉⲗⲍⲉⲃⲟⲩⲗ—ⲃⲉⲉⲗⲉⲍⲉⲃⲟⲩⲗ; 11, 18, *idem*, but cf. 11, 19, ⲃⲉⲉⲗⲍⲉⲃⲟⲩⲗ; 19, 23, ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ—ⲉⲧⲉϯⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ. Metathesis is found, 8, 41, ⲓⲁⲉⲓⲣⲟⲥ—ⲏⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ.

The manuscript is consistent in the use of double consonants in certain words. The word "kingdom," e. g., has –ⲣⲣ–: 1, 33, ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ—ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ, like MS. 89; 4, 43, ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ—ⲛ̂ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ, in agreement with MS. 86; 6, 20, ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ—ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ (MSS. 86, 111, 114); 12, 31, ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ—ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ, like 89. The word 'Pharisee' prefers –ⲥⲥ–: 5, 17, ϩⲉⲛⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ—ϩⲉⲛⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ (MS. 86); cf. also 5, 30 (MSS. 86, 111); 6, 7 (MS. 86, etc.); 7, 36 (MSS. 78, 114, 13^1, m^1); 11, 37-38 (MSS. 89, 91, 24^1); 11, 43 (MSS. 89, 91, 24^1); 11, 53 (MSS. 89, 91); 17, 20 (MSS. 89, 91, 114, γ^1); 18, 10 (MS. 89, etc.).

Double ⲕ is found: 6, 14, ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ—ⲓⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ (MS. 114); likewise 6, 15, where it agrees with MSS. 111, 114.

The manuscript has rather uniform peculiarities of spelling. ⲓ for ⲉⲓ is very frequent. A few examples will suffice: 1, 29, ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ—ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ: 1, 63, ⲁⲫⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ—ⲁⲫⲁⲓⲧⲓ (MS. 18); 2, 37, ϩⲉⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ—ϩⲉⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ; 4, 12,-ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁϩⲉ—ⲡⲓⲣⲁϩⲉ; 9, 21, ⲁⲫⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲧⲉⲓⲗⲉ—ⲁⲫⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲓⲗⲉ (MSS. 91, 129); 10, 21, ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ—ⲡⲭⲟⲏ̈ⲥ, but in 19, 34, the manuscript writes ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ. On the other hand, in 6, 21, where Horner writes ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲓ, the manuscript has ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̂ⲁⲥⲉⲓ. We also find examples of ⲩ for ⲏ: 8, 14, ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ—ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲁⲟⲛⲏ; 9, 33, ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ—ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ; 19, 21, ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲟⲥ—ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, but in 19, 22, the manuscript agrees with Horner. On the other hand, ⲏ may be written for ⲩ: 1, 2, ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ—ⲛϩⲏⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ (MSS. 114, 126); 4, 20, ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲩⲡⲏⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ — ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲏⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ. ⲩ and ⲏ may also be interchanged in the same word: 4, 44, ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲏⲣⲩⲥⲥⲉ—ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲩⲣⲏⲥⲥⲉ; 8, 1, ⲉⲫⲕⲏⲣⲩⲥⲥⲉ—ⲉⲫⲕⲩⲣⲏⲥⲥⲉ. ⲓ may be written for ⲏ: 6, 35, ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ—ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ.

There are some unique readings, but they are not of serious value in the construction of a text, since in most cases they do not change the meaning.

It seems strange that the manuscript omits the Golden Rule, 6, 31: "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." There is no defect in the manuscript at that passage; it proceeds directly from verse 30 to verse 32. Similarly 11, 10 is entirely omitted. In 3, 6, there is an omission of the first half of the verse: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. 12, 55 omits at the end of the verse: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲁⲫⲫⲟⲡⲉ.

The few additions to the text are not serious. In 18, 31, for ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ, the manuscript has ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ. In 19, 21 is found a doublet: ⲉⲕϥⲓ ⲙ̂ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕⲁⲛⲡⲉ · ⲉⲕϥⲓ ⲙ̂ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲗⲁϥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈.

A few errors may be mentioned: 5, 17, *ad finem*, ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ, where the manuscript has ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ̄, the feminine for the masculine; 5, 24, ⲉⲓⲭⲱ—ⲉⲩⲭⲱ; 11, 42 ⲛⲉⲫⲫⲉ ⲉⲁⲩ, where the manuscript has the negative, ⲛⲫⲫⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲁⲁⲩ; 17, 5, ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ—ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲓⲥ.

It is evident, therefore, that the manuscript presents a good text. In fact, it gives us a few corrections: 4, 29, ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲟϥ, 'of the mountain'; since Horner gives no variant, it is possible that his text here contains a misprint; at any rate, the codex correctly reads ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ; 12, 15, ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲱⲁⲓ. ⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ, which Horner translates: "for if the possessions of one should abound, he is not about to find his life out of them"; here the codex has the correct reading: ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁ̄::ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲁⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̄. ⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

In some cases, the codex uniquely employs a synonym: 3, 4, ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ — ϩⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ, where MS. 128 has ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ; 4, 35, ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ—ⲁⲧⲣⲁϩⲧϥ̄, 'struck him,' 'cast him'; 8, 12, ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ—ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ; 9, 39, ⲥⲃⲏⲏⲧⲉ 'foam,' for which the manuscript has ⲥϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ, 'foam,' a form (but with –ⲏⲏ–) to which Crum, in his Coptic Dictionary, assigns first place; 11, 39, ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ—ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ in agreement with MSS. 89, 91; 12, 33, ϩⲟⲟⲗⲉ, 'moth'—ϫⲟⲟⲗⲉⲥ, in agreement with MSS. (9?), 89, 91 (fr); 12, 48, ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲁⲧϥ̄—ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲛⲟⲩϥ; 12, 57, ⲁϩⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ—ⲁϩⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲉ ⲛ̂ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̂ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̂ⲁⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ; 17, 14, ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ—ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲁⲃⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̂ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ.; 18, 15 and 17, ⲱⲏⲙ—ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈; 18, 19, ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ—ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̈; 18, 36, ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ—ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ, in agreement with ⲃ; 20, 26; ⲉⲑⲟⲡϥ̄—ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲱⲃⲉϥ.

Sometimes the supralinear stroke is used instead of the full vowel ⲉ; in other cases, we have the reverse usage. Generally, however, the manuscript is accurate in this matter. At the end of the line, ⲛ is usually represented by a long horizontal stroke over the preceding vowel which thus closes the line. In 8, 29, ⲙ is similarly represented: ⲉϩⲉⲙⲙⲁ—ⲉϩⲉ̄::ⲙⲁ; it may be, however, that the scribe had in mind the unassimilated ⲛ.

Naturally it is impossible in an article of this sort to go into greater detail in describing the manuscript. The writer has endeavoured simply to point out the most important characteristics both in readings and in spellings. The codex represents an excellent text and offers, as has been indicated, a few advantages over Horner's text. In the main, it is very closely related to MSS. 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86.

IGNAZIO GUIDI—SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

RICHARD GOTTHEIL
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ONE OF the greatest living Orientalists has passed out of existence at the ripe age of ninety-one. He was an honorary member of our society and we honored ourselves by making him such. As one who knew him personally and had been at his house at No. 24 Via Botteghe Oscuro in Rome, I feel it a privilege to say a word in regard to him.

Guidi was born in Rome on the thirty-first of July, 1844. As the great Italian Encyclopedia says: "He made an Orientalist of himself," for Oriental languages were not as yet cultivated in Italy—beyond the province of those interested in ecclesiastical matters. From the year eighteen seventy-three to seventy-six he was custodian of the numismatic collections at the Vatican. At the University, during various periods, he taught Greek. In 1876 he became Instructor, in 1879 Extraordinary Professor, and in 1885 Ordinary Professor of Hebrew and the Semitic Languages, including Ethiopic. On account of his age he had become Emeritus Professor. He died at 9.30 a. m. on Thursday, April the eighteenth, and was buried on Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

The notice I have received reads in part:

"Oggi alle ore 9.30 si è spento serenamente con i conforti della religione e con la benedizione speciale del S. padre

Ignazio Guidi
Professor Emerito nella Regia Università di Roma
Senatore del Regno."

He was of a most lovable character, only too willing to help others on the way, if they showed real scholarly interest.

As regards his works, those of which I have knowledge are the following:

a. *Arabic:*

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2. "Studi sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila we-Dimna," Roma, 1873.
3. "Della Sede primitivi dei populo Semitici," in *Mem. d. Accademia dei Lincei,* 1879.
4. A portion of al-Tabari's "Annals," Vol. II, Leiden, 1882-1886.
5. Ed. of *Libro dei Verbi* of Ibn al Ḳutiyyah, Leiden, 1894.
6. Index to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī,* Leiden, 1900.
7. Translation into Italian of Khalīl ibn Isḥaḳ al-Jundi's *al-Mukhtasar,* or code of Muslin law according to the Malikikite system, Rome, 1919.
8. "La descrizione di Roma nei geographi arabi," in *Archivo Sociále Romano,* 1887.
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b. *Syriac:*

1. "La Lettera di Simeon di Beth Arsham sopra i martiri oriante" in *Mem. d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1881.
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3. "Mundhir III und die beiden monophysitischen Bischöfe," *ZDMG.,* 35, pp. 142 ff.
4. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des neu- aramäischen Fellihi-Dialektes," *ibid.,* 37, pp. 293 ff (1883).
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3. *Il Fetḥa Nagast o Legialazione dei Re,* two vols., Roma, 1897-1899.
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44. "Lo studio dell' amarico in Europa," *Actes du XII. Congrès International des Orientalistes,* Paris, 1898, pp. 67 ff.
45. "Sulle coniugazioni del verbo amarico," *ZA.,* 1893, pp. 245 ff.
46. *Hasīr sāntā masḥaf qedūs* (Short Stories from the Scriptures), Asmara, 1907.
47. "Documenti amariña," in *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1891, pp. 285 ff.
48. "La forma intensiva nel verbo amarico," *Giornale d. Società asiatica italiana,* Roma, 1889, pp. 179 ff.
49. "Historia regio Sarṣa Dengel (Malak Sagad), edidit K. Conti Rossini, accedit Historia gentis Galla, curante I. Guidi" (*Corp. Script. Christ. Orient. Scriptores Aethiopici, textus*), Parisiis, 1907.
50. "La leggenda di s. Mattia a Bartos," in *Giornale d. Società asiatica italiana,* Roma, 1889, pp. 173 ff.
51. "Sargis d'Aberga (controverse judéo-chrétienne). Première assemblée. Texte éthiopien édite et traduit par S. Grébaut avec le concours de I. Guidi," *Patrologia orientalis,* III, pp. 547 ff.; vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff.
52. "Il Sawāsew," *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag,* vol. II, pp. 913 ff.
53. "Le Synaxaire éthiopien: les mois de sanê, hamlê et nahasé, publiés et traduits par Ignazio Guidi, avec le concours de L. Desnoyers et A. Singlas," *Patrologia orientalis,* I. pp. 524 ff., Paris, 1905.
54. "Le Synaxaire éthiopien: les mois de sanê, hamlê, nahasê et pâquemên, publiés et traduits par Ignazio Guidi, avec le concours de L. Desnoyer, A. Singlas et S. Grébaut," in *Patrologia Orientalis,* VII, pp. 208 ff.
55. "Die traditionelle Aussprache des Aethiopischen," in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* Berlin, 1926, col. 1903 ff.

d. *Hebrew:*

1. *Note ebraiche,* Roma, 1927.

e. *Coptic:*

1. "Frammenti Copti," *Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1887-1888.
2. "Il canone biblico della chiesa Copta," *Revue biblique,* 1901, pp. 161 ff.
3. "Gli atti apocrifi degli Apostoli nei testi copti, arabi et etiopici," in *Giornale d. Societa Asiatica,* Firenze, 1889.
4. "Il testo copto del testamento di Abramo," *Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1900.
5. *Elementa linguae Copticae,* Neapoli, 1924.
6. "Coptica," *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1906, pp. 463 ff.
7. "Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe," in *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1900, pp. 223 ff.
8. "Il testo copto del Testamento di Abraham, Nota del Socio I. Guidi," in *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1900, pp. 157 ff.
9. "Di alcune pergamente saidiche della collezione Borgiana," in *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1893, pp. 513 ff.
10. "La traduzione copta di un' omelia di S. Efrem," in *Bessarione,* Roma, 1902-1903, pp. 1 ff.
11. *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote. . . . Texte copte, publié par Ignazio Guidi,* Paris, 1901, pp. 83 ff.

f. *Persian:*

1. "Di una versione persiana del Pentateuco," *Rendiconti d. Acc. dei Lincei,* Roma, 1885, pp. 347 ff.

g. *Varia:*

"L'Historiographie chez les Semites," in *Revue Biblique,* 1906.

The preceding imperfect account of that which the great Italian master has left may give some little idea of the breadth of his knowledge and the earnestness of his scientific life. In addition, I have a box-full of learned reviews from his pen which I have not attempted to list here.

May his soul rest in peace!

BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Observation of the Equinox at Petra

Reflecting on the lunar calendar in Hellenistic Babylonia, it has occurred to me that a group of monuments at Nabataean Petra suggests a clue to its practical operation. Seleucid or Parthian adaptations aside, the new year of the Neo-Babylonians and of the Hebrews and other Semitic groups, Nisan 1, began on the evening when the first new moon after the vernal equinox appeared. Observation of the new moon was simple and made without instruments; that of the equinox was more difficult, but equally indispensable to the calculation.

On the vernal (and autumnal) equinox the sun rises on almost the exact eastern point, and sets on approximately the western, of the horizon. If two poles are set up a few meters apart along a true east-west line, the approach of the equinox will be reflected, to a regular observer, in the decreasing gap between one pole and the sun-cast shadow of the other until pole and shadow coincide. Movable poles may in fact be used to determine the east-west line, for only on the equinox can coincidence occur alike at sunrise and sunset.

This annual observation made, a new year would begin automatically with the appearance of the following new moon. Intercalary months would be added to those years whose twelfth months ended before the vernal equinox. A calendar so controlled would automatically fall into a nineteen-year cycle of moon and sun identical with that purported to have been brought to virtual perfection by "Chaldaean" astronomers through centuries of tedious calculation, and provably adopted by the Neo-Babylonians.

On "Obelisk Ridge," a high place above Petra, the living rock has been cut down to a flat platform, leaving, however, two roughly-hewn obelisks of approximately equal size. The platform on which they stand commands a clear view of the mountainous horizon enclosing the city; it is an ideal spot on which to have established an astronomical station. According to the observations of Kennedy, these obelisks stand on a true east-west line. I cannot confirm this statement for in 1929 when I visited Obelisk Ridge I did not

anticipate their bearing on calendar studies, nor was I equipped to take accurate compass readings. Another traveler may be able to give closer attention to this detail. If it is true, the obelisks could have effectively served the purpose of the poles just hypothetically described, in signaling the passage of the equinox. Whether or not the nineteen-year cycle was in use at Petra, a crude transit of this sort was necessary to any observation of the equinox and in the absence of a more rational explanation their presence is provocative.[1]

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[1] See: F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* II 2 (1924), pp. 422-463; cf. D. Sidersky, "Étude sur la chronologie assyro-babylonienne," *Mém. sav. étr.* XIII (1923), pp. 105-199, and Fotheringham, 'Indebtedness of Greek to Chaldaean Astronomy,' *The Observatory* LI (1928), p. 309.

J. Johnson, "The Dura Horoscope and the Seleucid Calendar," *Dura Studies* (1932), pp. 1-15; cf. A. B. West, *AJA* XXXVII (1933), pp. 352 f., and R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 147-153.

Gustaf Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), pp. 130 ff. and figs. 96-98; Sir Alexander Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments* (1926), pp. 68 f., 74 f., and figs. 164 and 202.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Excavations at Tepe Gawra. Vol. I. By E. A. SPEISER. Pp. xvi + 220 + LXXXVI Pts. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 1935. $6.00.

Dr. Speiser presents us with a publication which one studies with the greatest delight. The site, situated fifteen miles from Mosul and, therefore, within the domain of "Assyria," is of outstanding importance for the earlier history of Mesopotamia; the printing of text and plates is excellent, the tasteful arrangement of various objects on the same plate being particularly laudable; and finally, the scholarship is of the highest standard. As it should be in a final publication, the material, thoroughly digested and completely mastered, is presented in a well rounded picture. To fulfill all claims of objectivity, the presentation of facts is separated from their interpretations. The descriptions are brief and succinct, but suffice to stress the essential points, the chapter on pottery by Miss Cross being up to the same standard as that of other parts of the book. The judgments are as sagacious as they are sober; cf. for instance, the conclusions on the vexed questions of the early occurrence of the horse, and the treatment of the ethnic problems. The parallels are as complete as they can be, and they prove that the well known Semitist is also a thoroughly trained archaeologist. His talents as historian become apparent in the conclusions drawn from the archeological material as to the character of the people: the inhabitants of Gawra VI were commercially minded, whereas those of VIII were preoccupied with religion.

We now attempt a brief account of the chief results. The uppermost strata, settlements I, II, III, were small, since the accumulation of the debris diminished the available space more and more, and they date from Hurrian times. Stratum IV, probably contemporary with the third dynasty of Ur, consists of a shrine which shows analogies with the temple of Ishtar in Ashur-E. Stratum V with a shrine very similar in type is Sargonid. The language of the inhabitants of these two settlements was doubtless Semitic, as was also that of the people in stratum VI.

This latter stratum lasted from the later "Early Dynastic" to the beginning of the Sargonid period; it shows a fairly large town, compact, but well laid out; it has an open square in the center, a drainage system, and is well fortified. Its relations were far flung: brickwalls on rubble foundations and schematised idols point to Anatolia, figures of horses and a "covered wagon" to the Caucasus region and even farther, a gaming die to India; analogies in pottery, implements, cylinder seals, toilet sets, and other things, prove strong connections with Southern Mesopotamia, so that Gawra VI gives the impression of having been a "melting pot." An interesting seal, Nr. 67, reminds of later Cypriote pieces; since the difference in time, however, is very great, I am disinclined to assume any connection. A "fountain-head" pot found in a trial trench seems to me close in style to the pottery of Stratum V. The statuette, Pl. XXXIII, probably represents a crouched figure, the lower part being schematised (cf. V. Müller, *Fruehe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien,* Pl. VI). All the strata from I to VI are included by Speiser in the "Late" period of Gawra, since trial excavations have shown that the strata reach down to the very beginning of civilization in Mesopotamia; the occupations after 3000 prove thus to have been not the most prominent stage in the splendid history of Gawra. Stratum VII with which, therefore, the middle period begins, has very meager architectonic remains, but is important as a transitional phase: stone implements are more numerous than in VI, but show a considerable decrease in comparison with VIII; objects in copper, on the other hand, very rare in VIII, increase in number, although they are still far behind L. VI so that the term "chalcolithic," given to the middle period by Speiser, is justified; stamp and cylinder seals occur by side, no cylinders being earlier and no stamps being later than VII. The pottery compels to date VII to the end of the Jemdet Nasr and the beginning of the "Early Dynastic" periods and shows the very interesting fact of the intrusion of people with "Billa" ware. The difficulty arising from the different dating of the corresponding ware at Nineveh by Mallowan is solved by showing that the dates at Nineveh must be modified on account of the better evidence at Gawra. In contrast to VI, where strong Sumerian influences are discernible, the "highland" component is very strong in VII. This is still more pronounced in VIII, which is distinctly un-

Sumerian. This stratum, subdivided into three settlements, is undoubtedly the most important level dealt with in the publication. Its foremost interest lies in architecture. The main type of sanctuary shows a large central room with the entrance in the short side flanked by smaller rooms on either side. The walls have recessed niches and, at the front side, low windows. The nearest parallel, as Speiser rightly observes, is the Innin temple of Karaindash at Uruk, which was unique in Mesopotamia hitherto. The fact, however, that this type is intrusive in Mesopotamia, is not altered by its occurrence at Gawra, and we must look to the "highlands" for its cradle. The low windows likewise point to regions outside Mesopotamia, since they are found at Boghazkeui and at Zenjirli (cf. *Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 42, 1917, p. 137 f.; *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 36, 1921, p. 93 f., vol. 44, 1929, p. 241 ff.), the difference in time playing no rôle in the "immovable East." Speiser finds another partial analogy for the Gawra type in the "Kalksteintempel" of Uruk V, but I am unable to follow him entirely in this respect. The fundamental difference is that the central space at Uruk is an open courtyard with the main sanctuary at the back, the latter being a "broad" room, so that the building belongs to the "central court" type, whereas the temple at Gawra belongs to the "block" type (cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* vol. 37, 1933, p. 599 f.); cf. also the reconstruction of the temple at Uruk in *Vorläufiger Bericht V*, E. Heinrich, Schilf und Lehm, Berlin, 1934, p. 28, with that of the temple at Gawra in the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research 54, April 1934, p. 17). Nor would I call the open space between the projecting wings of the Gawra type "liwân," because *liwân* means a selfsufficient and roofed room according to Oelmann's terminology (*Bonner Jahrb.*, vol. 127, 1922, p. 217 ff.). The "long" room type is not the only one at Gawra, but the "broad" room too is represented by the important buildings 833 and 822. I am inclined to find even the "Ishtar-temple type" in the building 808, although the door is not in the corner; but the two niches in one of the short sides and the podium pointing to them show that chief orientation of the room is in the direction of the longitudinal axis, precisely as in the temples of Ishtar. Another feature worth mentioning is a true barrel vault above ground, not underground as in the Royal cemetery at Ur. The date of VIII can be fixed by the pottery,

which shows that the latest phase falls within the Jemdet Nasr period and that the earlier phases must, therefore, be contemporary with the Uruk period. Speiser's account ends with VIII, since he did not participate in the excavation of the lower strata, of which five more have been found. Archaeology is an "experimental science" in the sense that our conclusions can be tested by future excavations. I am convinced that Speiser's work will stand the test.

VALENTIN MÜLLER.

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Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi. By. DAVID DIRINGER. Firenze, 1934. Pp. xxix, 361, and 30 Plates.

Diringer's publication will be welcomed by all those who deal seriously with the history of Palestine and its antiquities. For students of Semitic epigraphy it provides a long-needed and highly important book of reference. The material which it brings together has been scattered through journals, pamphlets, and other publications, some of which are not easily accessible. A somewhat similar collection covering a different period of Palestinian history is the unpretentious work by Samuel Klein, entitled *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogeninschriften)*, Wien-Berlin, 1920. This little volume of 106 pages, with good indexes, but without facsimiles or other illustration, deals with the later period of Jewish history subsequent to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. Diringer's work, on the contrary, is designed to close with the end of the Hebrew monarchy, and its plan includes every variety of help which could reasonably be required.

The following subjects are treated in the successive chapters: The Gezer Tablet; Ostraca (especially those excavated at Samaria); Siloam Inscriptions (the famous inscription of the Tunnel and also those found at Silwān); Jar handles; Seals (these occupying a considerable part of the volume); Weights and Measures; Miscellany. An Appendix contains a brief chapter on forgeries, and another on the old Hebrew script, of which tables are given in Plates XXIX and XXX. The inscriptions are well indexed, with tables containing the names of persons and the geographical names

and terms, and also listing conventional signs (numbers, etc.) and the marks of punctuation.

Dr. Diringer has collected diligently, and the *corpus* which he presents includes nearly everything that had been published in this field up to the time when his manuscript was finished. The inscriptions are numbered consecutively, in their several groups, for convenience of reference. In each case there is a transliteration in the square character, followed by a commentary. A most useful feature, deserving especial notice, is the very complete and accurate bibliography accompanying each inscription. Some interpretations are open to question, as must inevitably be the case in any work of this nature, but the author's thorough study and good judgment are everywhere apparent. I have noted one or two inaccuracies; for instance, the statement in regard to seal no. 27 that its publisher dated it in the "epoca Romana," whereas he made it contemporaneous with the Siloam Inscription.

The facsimiles (28 plates) will of course receive especial attention. In a few cases these are photographs made from the objects themselves (i. e., they reproduce the half-tones which had appeared in former publications), but generally they reproduce drawings of the inscriptions. One could often wish to have both. As a rule, the drawings, whether made by Diringer himself or by his predecessors, are carefully executed and may be relied upon. Sometimes, indeed, they are rough and not quite satisfactory; but the difficulties in the way of such graphic interpretation are well known. All in all, we have in the work before us an admirable achievement.

Syriac Inscriptions. By ENNO LITTMANN. Leyden: E. J. BRILL, 1934. Pp. xi, 70.

Littmann's volume constitutes Division IV, Section B, of the Publications (entitled "Syria") of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909. The Nabataean Inscriptions were published by him in 1914; the Arabic and Safaitic are promised to appear soon.

The volume contains a map of the region concerned (Northern Syria), and also a special map of the Dēr Sim'ān. The inscriptions number 64 (aside from the list of 25 proper names painted on the wall of a church at Ṣadad, published in *Oriens Christianus* in

1930). About one-third of the inscriptions are dated. They are mostly of the 6th century; four of them of the 5th; others down to the 10th. In addition to the ordinary dating by the Seleucid era, the large proportion of dates according to the era of Antioch is instructive. Antioch, in all the earliest time, was the head of the Syriac church.

These documents, it is hardly necessary to say, are very brief, and sometimes difficult to interpret. They are building inscriptions; lists of names, or single names; pious formulae; isolated dates. About one-half are graffiti. The dated specimens sometimes furnish valuable evidence for the study of architecture. There is some interesting palaeographical material: the letters of the Syriac script joined in an unusual way, or strung on one continuous base line, as in the manuscripts; and such peculiarities of orthography as the omission of initial *ālaf*, of *waw* at the end of a 3rd pers. masc. perfect tense, and of the same letter in the syllable (this hardly remarkable).

The inscriptions are illustrated by facsimile drawings and occasional photographs. An Index lists both the proper names and the Syriac words, and an Appendix contains a welcome re-examination of certain inscriptions previously published.

In general, it is safe to say that what Littmann has given here will hardly be improved upon. Where the few still-visible marks permit only a conjecture, his guess is likely to be the best one. I would raise a query only in the case of his longest text, Graffito no. 28; a curious bit, in an interesting script. He renders as follows:

I Marzūk, the sinner, make you to know, my brethren, a miracle that came to pass: On the 15th of April [Nīṣān, written with *ṣ*!] there was a great hailstorm, until there were scattered(?) all trees and crops; but it stopped(?) instantaneously(?).

Judging from the facsimile, the last two words are very doubtful; but my query concerns the word "scattered," which seems unsuitable, especially in speaking of trees. I seem to recognize in Littman's drawing the root *b'r* instead of *bdr*, and as Bar Bahlūl gives the meaning "devastation" for *bu'ārā*, I would suggest "ruined," or the like, instead of "scattered."

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Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn. Edited by W. HEFFENING and W. KIRFEL. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1935. Pp. 231.

Many over the world will share with his immediate friends and students in congratulations to Professor Kahle at the epoch which this handsome volume celebrates. The history of text and lexicography of the Hebrew Bible, the Masora, the versions and the related history and life of the Samaritans; the manners and customs and arts—for example the shadow-plays—of the modern Islamic world, in which he spent some of his earlier years, and contributions to the study of Arabic and Turkish documents—for example the Lost Map of Columbus (see Martinovitch's review above, JOURNAL 55, 106)—all these studies have notably distinguished him in the realm of scholarship. To this function he has added to a unique degree that of patron and friend to a host of students, and through his genuine friendliness and administrative ability he has made Bonn a centre of Oriental studies, where also he is the leader in what we in America call a Summer School. His catholic interest has included the Far East as well, and many of the articles in the present volume testify to his broadminded leadership in all things Oriental It would require an encyclopaedic reviewer to appreciate the twenty-three monographs composing this volume, of which fourteen come from the hands of his associates and students at Bonn. The initial article by A. Schott alone belongs to ancient history, with its subject, "Wann entstand das Gilgamesch-Epos?", of which epic he has just published a fresh translation in the *Reclams Bibliothek*; by a somewhat abstruse argument he would date the composition about the time of Shulgi of the last dynasty of Ur. In the field of the Bible Edelmann gives a contribution on the History of the Masora, Horst on Theft in the Old Testament, Peters on the Textual History of Ex. 32: 18 (an interesting specimen), Sperber on the Problems of an Edition of the Septuagint, coming to rather skeptical conclusions. Engberding gives a History of the Doxologies in the East Syrian liturgy. Of the nine articles in the Islamic field may be noticed a Fourteenth Century Mamlik Fatwa on the Status of Christians, by Atiya; the Construction of Islamic Law Books, by Heffening, the Concept

of Prophecy in Islamic Theology, by Frick (in the case of Mohammed, "so wird aus dem echten Propheten ein falscher Apostel"); and the study of a Tunisian shadow-play by Levy; in the East Indian field articles on native medicine, the stone-cult and resurrection stories by Hilgenfeld, Kirfel, Losch, and a presentation by Matsumoto of the second chapter of the Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā in the Sanskrit and the Chinese translation in type. There are two papers on Japanese subjects, that by Pippon (of Tokyo) treating a Sino-Japanese constitutional document of the seventh century. The contribution by Wang on Musical Relations between China and the West is of general interest; in addition to the summary of historical facts he holds the theory that the homeland of musical theory for both Greece and the Orient was Babylon (p. 219). Also to the history of culture belong the articles respectively on Chinese porcelain in Islamic lands, by Röder, and on porcelain in Chinese medicine, by Schmitt. A portrait of Dr. Kahle graces the volume, which is concluded with the valuable Bibliography of his publications, compiled by Katharina Korn, pp. 225-231.

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Chinese Calligraphy. By LUCY DRISCOLL and KENJI TODA. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1935. Pp. vii + 70. $2.00.

Upon the "subtle movements of the brush that leave their trace in changing ink tone," as succinctly stated by Miss Driscoll in her Foreword (p. vi) to the book under review, does indeed depend "the real quality of calligraphic art." This monograph on the foremost of Chinese arts supplies a tool, both for a stimulation of a wider appreciation in the west of so sensitive an art, and for the initiation of the practicing student of art into methods and technique of the Chinese brush and ink.

For the reader who knows Chinese there are, furthermore, herein gathered, organized, and discussed selected passages from literary sources on the art which, with few exceptions, may easily be located in certain Chinese texts for comparative study. Should the book fall into the hands of some scholar-calligraphist of Chinese, it is

hoped, as Miss Driscoll desires (p. vi), that it may lure him—or her—into the more extensive presentation of this creative art.

Into the brief space, however, of the seventy pages (sixty-four in the body of the text), through an orderly arrangement of the material as set forth in the table of contents, one may find in this monograph both an introduction to and an appreciation of a fine art, as well as practical suggestions for the beginner in its study. One may read and enjoy a vivid portrayal of the sybolism, the dynamic ideal, and certain values of the art along with the technique of calligraphic expression.

Had there been less use of the quotation marks for many single words and brief phrases without direct reference to any special text, it would have given more value to those clearly taken from a passage under discussion. The following examples might have been among those avoided: "would look better" (p. 2); "naturally" and "natural" (pp. 15, 64); "one thousand *li* in length" (p. 17); and "nature" and "human effort" (p. 63). Just what Chinese term is meant to be translated by "classic point of view" (p. 43), as well as a few other short terms and phrases within quotation marks, is puzzling. In the cases of "good" pattern (p. 5), of "modern" (pp. 14, 25, 26, with retention or substitution on p. 28), and of "better" (p. 53), in spite of the technical meaning of the Chinese term translated, the quotation marks might well have been omitted.

Their use around words and phrases taken directly from passages translated or discussed (p. 28) does, however, certainly add to the vividness of the monograph. Like a red thread binding together the pattern of the book runs the term, "the idea of the mind," found in variant wordings (pp. 6, 27, 53, 63, 64), but with lack of definite reference in spite of its use in the citation on page fifty-two, and its association with an authority of another passage (p. 53).

The concept expressed in "life-movement" gathers into a whole the calligraphic art depicted in the monograph. It is like an envelope which holds the message from the writer of the note within to the reader of the contents. It is so technical as it is interpreted in the study that the reader has a desire to find its Chinese equivalent in transliteration in parenthesis that it may be sought in the list of miscellaneous terms at the end of the book, without the necessity of looking up the reference given (pp. 1, 2,

5, 59, 60, 63, 64, *shêng-tung,* see H. A. Giles: *A English-Chinese Dictionary,* Shanghai, 1912, no. 9865). It is so artistic a point of view that from it the study as a whole seizes the attention of the reader.

With allusions and citations continually occurring in Chinese writings it is very probable that the phrases of the sentence translated on page forty-two as a quotation from Lord Chung (Chung Kung) all belong to earlier standard writers. *Yü-hu* translated as "a crystal jar" is literally "a jade" jar (Giles: 4954; *Tz'û-yüan,* Commercial Press' Chinese Encyclopedic Dictionary, Shanghai, section vii, p. 8). *Yao-t'ai* (Giles: 12918; *Tz'û-yüan,* vii, 36; F. S. Couvreur: *Dictionnaire classique,* etc., Ho-kien-fou, 1911, p. 223), translated as "a tower of jewels," is probably a reference to a tower (?) that is supposed to have been erected in the mythical garden of the legendary Hsi-wang-mu, "West Queen Mother" (H. A. Giles: *Adversaria Sinica,* Shanghai, 1914, pp. 1-19). *Mu jo(ju) ch'ing fêng* (Giles: 8082; Couvreur: p. 583), translated as "soothing as a clean breeze"—perhaps *clean* is a typographical error—is a phrase found in the *Book of Poetry* ("Greater Odes of the Kingdom," *Ta-ya* [Giles: 12807], III, III, vi, 8: 6 to 8 in the translation by James Legge: *The Chinese Classics,* Oxford, 1893-1895, Vol. IV [book not available for indicating page]).

The following suggestions are added to those made above. Transliterations in the text without the equivalent Chinese characters in the lists at the end of the book were noticeable in a few instances: *Shu-p'u* (On Calligraphy), p. 15; *ma* (horse), p. 16; *li,* p. 17; *mo* (ink), p. 18; *chih,* p. 31, translated "to tear," character found in the Chinese text on page thirty-six, Giles: 1931a; and Chuang Tzû and the *Tao-te-ching,* p. 64. Two errors in transliteration occur: Chung-shan on page forty-five should be Ch'ung-shan (Giles: 2930); *Tu* should be *T'u* in the title of the work, *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* (Giles: 12128). The reviewer would like to raise the question of the transliteration *pai* (white, see note 47) for Giles: 8556, as it is not clear in her mind when the reading *po* should be given.

Apparently the translators in the passage on page forty-five omitted *lu* (deer, Giles: 7434)), found in the source. *Tsan* has a much larger use than the one described in note 9. As typographical mistakes, there is the omission of the first half of the quotation marks on page fifty-eight, lines 1-4; and the dates for Mao Chin

(p. 44) should, according to the *I-nien-lu hui-pien* (Gest No. 1358, T'oung-*pao,* xxv, 65-81, 1925, viii, 14), be A. D. 1598-1659. Omissions in pagination for references are at times irritating; the passages for notes 1, 9, and 33, for example were much more quickly located than in the cases without page numbering.

The information about Ch'ên Ssû in note 4, which had been sent to Miss Driscoll by Dr. Kiang K'ang-hu may be found in the *Chung-kuo jên-ming ta tzû-tien* (Commercial Press' *Cyclopedia of Chinese Biographical Names,* Shanghai, p. 1080); he is mentioned in A. Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (reprint of 1922, p. 151); and is included in the collection of short sketches of noted bibliophiles, *Chung-kuo ts'ang-shu-chia k'ao-lüeh* (Gest No. 1417), compiled and published about 1928, by Yang Li-ch'êng and Chin Pu-ying (pp. 92-93).

On dates for Chang Yeh-yüan (p. 10), it may be helpful to note that in the period A. D. 874-879 he was made Minister of Justice (see *Cyclo. Chinese Biog.,* p. 943). Thus his *Fa-shu yao-lu* may easily have been much later in date than that earlier work written in A. D. 847, although according to the imperial Ch'ien-lung catalogue (*Ssû-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu, chüan* 112, pp. 8b-10a) the compilation includes citations written no later than the period A. D. 808-820.

For the reader who knows Chinese there is in the monograph an especial value in the selections from and the method of handling the material from Li Shun (pp. 52-59). This contribution in the field of Chinese calligraphy will be greatly enlarged by a companion study by the authors covering a translation and discussion of the entire contents of "The Eighty-four Laws." To the reader who is not an artist, but who is acquainted with Chinese character, the simpler but perhaps less artistic styles in Illustrations 1, 2, 6, 7, 13-16 give more pleasure than do the ones wherein it is difficult to decipher the script. To such a one the delight in Chinese calligraphy is enhanced by "the meaning of the characters as a possible source for dynamic inspiration" (p. 9).

NANCY LEE SWANN.

The Gest Chinese Research Library.

The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung. By LUTHER CARRINGTON GOODRICH. Baltimore: WAVERLY PRESS, INC., 1935. Pp. xii, 275. (AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES: Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, Number 1.)

China reached her last great climax during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1735-1796. Considering the vast extent of her territory and that of her vassal states, her large and rapidly growing population, the high quality of the art objects produced at this time, the assembling of valuable collections of paintings and literary works, the construction of magnificent palaces and temples under the patronage of a powerful and enlightened ruler, and her international prestige,—in view of all these tests of greatness, we may fairly say that the old China had attained the zenith of her development. Emperor Ch'ien-lung rode this wave of splendor so magnificently that he is often given credit for its brilliance. One popular writer even says that he was perhaps the greatest emperor the world has ever seen.

But before we kotow so abjectly before this golden image, might we not ask whether the panegyrists are really well informed? Have they examined all the aspects of his benevolent character? The very brilliance of the period has often obscured the fact that not only was the zenith *reached*, but also *passed* in this same reign. If the glories of this picture are due to the perfections of the Emperor himself, to whom are we to ascribe the dark blots?

Mr. Goodrich's monograph deals with one of the activities of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung which has been almost entirely neglected by writers in western languages, and which has not been adequately dealt with even by Chinese scholars.

> Ch'ien-lung, in brief, was a despot. For all the munificence of his gifts to literature, he stands accused before the bar of public opinion for his open interference with the independence of the scholars of his day, for his deliberate falsification of history, for his malice towards a score of authors (several deceased long before) and their descendants, and for his repeated burnings of hundreds of books, woodblocks of many of them included (page 6).

After citing other instances of the burning of books by order of the rulers of previous dynasties, and of the punishment of literary men under the first three emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the early part of the reign of Ch'ien-lung, our author gives an account of

the severe literary inquisition of the years 1774 to 1788. He shows convincingly that this was closely connected with the assembling of the greatest literary collection in all the history of China, namely the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu.* This was a collection of what the scholars under the Emperor's direction considered the best works in Chinese literature, well-known classics as well as rare books which were gathered by imperial command from the whole empire. It seems to have been the intention of the Emperor to have the whole collection printed, but when it reached the enormous size of 36,000 volumes containing about 3,000,000 pages, the best he could do was to have seven manuscript copies made for the imperial palaces and a few favored cities. The same officials who were combing the empire for rare books to be forwarded to Peking for this collection were also required to search for books containing treasonable passages or slurs on the Manchu dynasty. These officials drew up a set of rules which should guide the provincial officials in their search for offensive books and a list of books which were worthy of destruction. This index, it is estimated, included over 2300 works listed for total suppression, and 340 more for partial suppression. Of this total of over 2600 our author lists in Appendix I some 476 works which were condemned but which have survived to the present time. The fifteen years of the inquisition, 1774-1788, thus resulted in the loss of over 2000 works, so that at present we have only partial and probably distorted sources for the history and literature of China for the few centuries preceding Ch'ien-lung's reign. The narrative account of this inquisition, its background, methods, aims, and effects, is included in Part I.

Part II contains imperial edicts, memorials, reports of officials. and detailed case histories showing how the inquisition affected certain authors, their families, and their works.

Both parts I and II are well supplied with footnotes giving the Chinese characters for Chinese proper names and numerous references to the sources. These full references should prove most useful in the further study of the subject which is needed in order to locate as many as possible of the works now lost but which may yet be discovered by diligent searching. The bibliography contains references only to works or articles in constant use by the author, although many other works are referred to in the footnotes and index. Your reviewer sees no good reason for dividing the index into two parts, one for general items, and the second for titles to

Chinese works. They might better be included in one list. One might also question the advantage of referring in the footnotes to works listed in the bibliography by *number* instead of by title in the more usual way. There are only a few typographical errors, for instance, a missing hyphen from "non-canonical" (p. 4, l. 24), a missing question mark (p. 90, l. 10), "pass" for "past" (p. 174, l. 8), and "be" for "by" (p. 204, l. 9).

In general the work bears evidence of thoroughness and scholarship. It reflects credit not only on the author but also upon the donor and committee in charge of the Willard Straight Fellowship, on which Mr. Goodrich spent two years abroad. It sets a high standard for the new "Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations," which is being sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, and of which this is Number 1. Seldom does a careful and critical historian shed so much new light upon such a brilliant and important period in history, or on such a famous person as the Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

Desire and the Universe, a Study of Religions. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK. Philadelphia: The CENTAUR PRESS, 1935. Pp. 352, 8vo.

Dr. Shryock, already well known for his books, *The Temples of Anking and their Cults,* and *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius,* has, in the book before us, undertaken a study of the development of religion in the widest sense of the word. The purpose of the undertaking is to show "that men have a large share in creating their ideas of the universe in which they live. Their motive in so doing is to satisfy their desire for perfection." This philosophical position he learned from his teacher in philosophy, Professor E. A. Singer. The book is divided into four parts. In Part I five chapters are devoted to "Our Desires and Our Environment" in which the relation of desire to environment, the origin and development of religion, and religion as culture, and the relation of the individual to society are discussed. In Part II "Religious Formulas" are discussed Here the main themes are the soul, the state of the dead, and ideas of God. Part III, entitled "The Emotions in Religion" discusses not only the part played

in religion by the emotions but the relation of religion and ethics, conscience and sin, and conviction. Part IV, which treats of "Religion as Behavior" contains Dr. Shryock's treatment of such questions as authority in religion, ceremonies, prayers, communications from the gods, priesthoods and their equivalent, the diffusion of religion, and the place of art and images in religion.

The author's method is that followed in Toy's *Introduction to the History of Religion.* In each chapter the opinions or customs of the devotees of a wide variety of religions are cited and the conclusions are thus objectively based on facts. The range of Dr. Shryock's erudition, as shown in these citations is amazingly wide and accurate for a man of his years. The author's running comments on the material are pithy and sane. It may be added, too, that Dr Shryock has abundantly demonstrated his thesis, and has done it in a way to help genuine religion. Some of his chapters, like that on "Authority" and "Communications from the Gods" are particularly good.

No book is, however, quite perfect, and *Desire and the Universe* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, one minor and one major fault. The minor fault is that, at a number of points the author inveighs against the older students of the history of religion for holding what he calls a "unilinear" theory of the development of religion, while he apparently deems himself able, because of his anthropological studies, to show that every religion has arisen from a mixture of cultures. Of course all science is progressive, and those who write from the vantage ground of wider knowledge are always able to point out some mistakes of pioneers. It happens, however, in this case that some of us who began our studies earlier than Dr. Shryock had made the same discovery by researches in our own fields without the aid of anthropologists. For example, in the reviewer's *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (of which Dr. Shryock once wrote a notice, by the way) abundant use is made of the principle, to which attention is called in the preface.

The other defect of the book (and in the reviewer's opinion it is of major importance) is that in his discussion of the ideas of God in Chapters 3, 9, 10, and 11 he has a good deal to say of monotheism, and his remarks again and again reveal the fact that he is quite unaware of what monotheism is. This is doubtless due to the fact that, under the influence of W. Schmidt and the anthropologists, he has discarded the more accurate scientific nomen-

clature of earlier students of the subject, and has included under a single term things that are disparate. A primitive tribe was not monotheistic because, in order to give unity to its world, it believed in a supreme god. There is inherent in real monotheism an element of hostility to other beliefs. Genuine monotheism differs from this kind of primitive belief as positive virtue differs from the innocence of childhood. It is something that has been won by struggle. The intelligent leaders of a monotheistic community are conscious of its cost, of its worth, and of its difference from polytheism. The real monotheist denies that other gods have jurisdiction at all or that they exist. Because Greeks sometimes prayed to Apollo and Babylonians to Marduk as though other gods did not exist they were not monotheists, nor did they "betray a tendency to monotheism." It would be as correct to say that the beggar who flatters me into giving him five dollars by telling me that I am his only hope and resource, while he conceals from me the fact that by the same tactics he has just secured five dollars from my neighbor, is a monanthropist! F. Max Müller and Hartmann, who understood the real nature of monotheism, invented the term "henotheism" by which they rightly distinguished such flattering approaches to the gods in the Rig Veda from monotheism. Later, scholars applied the same term to peoples like the Hebrews before Amos, who believed that one god made the world, and that he demanded their sole allegiance, but who did not deny the existence of other gods. Through works on the history of religion by masters of the subject the clear distinction of this scientific nomenclature runs. The late W. Max Müller once denied that Ikhnaton was a monotheist, because, in one of his obscure inscriptions, Müller found what he took to be the recognition of the deity of another god than Aton. Wherever real monotheism has existed it is militant and hostile to the worship of any god but one. It was so in Israel after Amos, in Zoroastrianism, in Christianity, and in Islam. The kind of fact on which Dr. Shryock relies to prove that "primitive men can and do believe in monotheism" (p. 130) has been known since the history of religion has been studied. Perhaps the scholars of fifty and seventy years ago had not amassed as many examples of it as Dr. Shryock, but they were well acquainted with the phenomenon, and they had not had the accuracy of their theological conceptions corrupted by the inaccurate use by anthropologists of theological terms. Primitive men were henotheists, not monotheists. To

inaccurately call them monotheists is unscientific and is also unfortunate in that it gives aid and comfort to a reactionary type of theologian who loves to call himself a "Fundamentalist." The blurring of this distinction is a grave fault in what would otherwise be a great book. The work is well printed. I have noticed but one serious typographical error. On p. 187, the fourth line from the bottom, "inquiry" should be "iniquity."

GEORGE A. BARTON.

A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries. Compiled by M. B. EMENEAU. American Oriental Series, volume 7. New Haven: AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1935. Pp. xv + 540. $2.00.

This publication satisfies a long-felt need of Sanskrit scholars, a need not felt so much in other fields as in the Oriental field both because of the lack of cataloguing facilities and the very extensive literature in this. Gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for its financial backing of this work and to Dr. Emeneau for his painstaking and eminently satisfactory compilation will long endure, especially if the work is supplemented from time to time in one way or another. It seems to me that the only sensible and practical procedure for libraries owning Oriental collections which are being constantly augmented is to maintain one or more staff-members who have been sufficiently trained in the several departments of Oriental studies to do the requisite cataloguing accurately. If these libraries are connected with universities—as they are in most cases—offering courses in Indic and other Oriental languages, their officers should avail themselves of the opportunity by urging some members of the cataloguing staff to take such courses. Any normally intelligent person could in his or her spare time train within a period of two or three years to satisfactorily catalogue the majority of printed texts in the Indic or any other division of the Oriental languages.

In the book under discussion the list is complete for the following libraries: Library of the American Oriental Society, Boston Public Library, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Columbia University Library, University of Chicago Library, Cleveland Public

Library, Library of Congress, Harvard University Library, Johns Hopkins University Library, McGill University Library, Gest Chinese Research Library (housed at McGill University Library), New York Public Library, Princeton University Library, University of Pennsylvania Library and Yale University Library. "Exigencies of time and distance" unfortunately prevented the inclusion of the University of California collection. Some small libraries were visited by Dr. Emeneau, but their collections were not included because they merely duplicated the nearest large collection. The list comprises texts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and most of the books in the older stages of the vernaculars, except in the case of Urdu, composed before 1800; a few later texts of importance, especially those forming parts of series; translations of texts; fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit texts; and journal articles. Some lithographs are also included but unfortunately not all. This lack obviously accounts for the incompleteness in the listing of Urdu texts. With this one exception the work completely meets all demands even to the extent of giving a correct and thorough hierarchical succession of commentators, which Indic scholars have so far lacked. The List of the More Important Serial Publications of Texts will be especially helpful. The index of authors and of titles at the end of the work completes the story.

It was not possible, of course, to list with each entry the corresponding library catalogue number. Therefore, I urge the above libraries to make provisions for any necessary revision of their card catalogue, so that their entries for the works included correspond exactly to the entries in this list. Otherwise there will surely be considerable difficulty in some cases, as in the past, in locating a given text even though it is definitely known that it exists in the library. Also since articles in journals have no library holdings indicated, it is our fond hope that libraries will cease cataloguing journals in a more or less haphazard method and bring themselves to rigid conformity.

HORACE I. POLEMAN.

University of Pennsylvania.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee has elected the following corporate members:

A. H. Fey
R. Habas
H. L. Norris
J. A. Pope
A. Sperber
Bishop W. C. White
S. N. Wolfenden

The Executive Committee has ratified the following amendments to the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies:

Voted, To amend the Constitution by adding to Article 3 the following paragraph:

(d) Any member of a constituent society not otherwise a member of the Corporation who may be elected to a constitutional office of the Council, but such *ex-officio* membership shall be only for the duration of the term of office.

and to instruct the Secretary to communicate this amendment to the constituent societies for ratification.

Professor Roland G. Kent represented the American Oriental Society at the commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the opening of Bryn Mawr College, November 12, 1935.

The Editors have accepted for publication in the American Oriental Series Professor L. C. Barret's edition of Books XVI and XVII of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Assistance to Publication

The American Council of Learned Societies is prepared to extend assistance in publishing a limited number of meritorious works in the field of the humanities written by American scholars. It invites its constituent societies to propose books they deem suitable for assistance, but reserves the right to consider works submitted by others if the Executive Committee has accepted them for consideration.

Works proposed for publication must be complete in themselves, preferably the results of constructive research presented in the form of volumes of conventional size. Important books of reference and critical editions of valuable texts may also be submitted.

Plans for the manufacture, publication, and distribution of each assisted work, and for the disposition of the proceeds, must be approved by the Executive Committee.

Applications for grants in aid of publication, on forms provided for the purpose, must be received in the Executive Offices of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, N W., Washington, D. C., on or before March 1, 1936, to be acted upon in May, 1936. Applications must include descriptions and critical appraisals of the works proposed, together with full manufacturing specifications and estimates of cost. No work can be considered of which the manuscript is not available for examination in completed form.

The Council has announced that the American Council of Learned Societies research fellowships and larger grants in aid of research have been discontinued for the present. Small grants will be awarded next April.

LIDZBARSKI FUND COMMITTEE

Professor Charles C. Torrey has been appointed member of the Lidzbarski Fund Committee, representing the SOCIETY. The Committee includes also according to the specifications of the donor, representatives of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Enno Littmann), the Société Asiatique (Réne Dussaud), and the Royal Asiatic Society (D. S. Margoliouth). A prize of 5000 marks will be awarded at every alternate International Congress of Orientalists for an outstanding work in the field of Semitics. The subject of the first prize-winning essay is to be "The extension of our knowledge of Aramaic dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke." Manuscripts should be submitted to the Business Manager of the Deutche Morgenländische Gesellschaft at least six months before the next International Congress. The will of the donor provides also for the award of a medal to a distinguished Orientalist, regardless of his particular field, at every other Congress of Orientalists. The first recipient of the Lidzbarski Medal is Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, of Graz, the well-known authority on South Arabic. The medal was presented at the recent session in Rome.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII has recently issued a prospectus of the courses offered in Oriental Studies, primarily in Chinese and Japanese. The size of the faculty and the variety of courses offered compare favorably with the staff and program of American universities on the continent. On the other hand, the library facilities are very meagre. Honolulu is ideally situated for the investigation of Far-Eastern subjects, and the Oriental Institute has great plans for future development, which it is hoped may be realized.

FONDATION—DE GOEJE.

1. Depuis novembre 1934 le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications et est ainsi composé: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le Conseil espère pouvoir commencer sous peu l'impression d'un texte relatif à géographie médiévalede l'Espagne préparé par M. E. Lévi-Provencal à Algeri, ainsi que d'une étude sur les variantes textuelles du Coran par M. A. Jeffrey au Caire. En outre, des négotiations ont été ouvertes sur la publication d'un texte de Ibn al-Mojāwir par M. Löfgren à Upsala.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires que sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'édite ur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués:

I. The Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī. Photographic reproduction of the Ms. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909) *f* 96; II. The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama ed. C. A. Storey (1915) *f* 6; III. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte (1916) *f* 4.50; IV. Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove transl. by A. J. Wensinck (1919) *f* 4.50; V. C. van Arendonk. De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen (1919) *f* 6; VI. I. Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung (1920) *f* 10; VII. Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924) *f* 7.50; VIII. Les „livres des chevaux" de Hišam b. al-Kalbī et Muh. b. al-Aʿrābī, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927) *f* 5; IX. D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, Hadramaut (1932) *f* 9; X. aṭ-Ṭabarī, Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahāʾ. Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933) *f* 4.80.

Leiden, novembre 1935.

PERSONALIA

On October 31, 1935, Professor Syvain Lévi, Indologist, honorary member of the SOCIETY died in Paris.

On December 2, 1935, Professor James H. Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, life member of the SOCIETY, died in New York.